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AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

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AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM HENRY BALDWIN, JR.

BY

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS

Author of "The Social Unrest," "As Others See Us," "Conflict of Monopoly and Good Citizenship"

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
1910

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TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICA
IN WHOSE KEEPING LIES THE CIVIC
AND BUSINESS HONOR OF THE NATION
THIS LIFE IS DEDICATED

A ruddy drop of manly blood
The surging sea outweighs.

EMERSON.

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I

A PRELIMINARY QUESTION

It is hardly eight years since I saw a great figure in the insurance world talking a little haughtily to a group of approving listeners. With much eloquence and tingling with moral indignation, he was making observations on the "muck-raker." His vocabulary of invective was too limited to express all that he felt on this subject.

At that moment the storm was gathering against his own and other towering insurance companies. He was stung to the quick as by a monstrous injustice. It seemed to him very simple. It was the work of the "agitator" and of creatures properly called "muck-rakers." His main reason for resentment was that "they were destroying public confidence." He was very impressive about this. Business and general prosperity, he said, could not endure for a month without confidence. It was the one source of our welfare. To undermine that confidence was to bring disaster upon all, but especially upon people of

small means. The great insurance companies which he had in mind were really, he said, "philanthropies." They rested as they should on a sound financial basis. They would not otherwise carry such blessing to the millions of insured and be the mainstay of the widowed and the orphaned. What, then, was to be thought of those scribblers despicable enough to undermine this one reliance — public confidence?

If in that little group of listeners some one had then known enough to tell him that the long sanctioned practices in his own company had already begun to do this deadly work of destroying public confidence; that the "muck-raker" was merely directing general attention to a few of these practices, the high moral swagger of this gentleman would not have been in the least disturbed. His tirade against the agitator had every appearance of sincerity. He believed what he was saying because he had not then been forced to look at his own business from the large organic and social point of view. He imagined that he and his friends had a private and exclusively owned business and that they were perfectly free to use other people's money in speculative investments as if it were their own. When, by shock after shock, he was awakened and compelled to see clearly what had been done, and what was thought of it, it went far to kill him.

What finally happened to that man has begun to happen to the general community. By one explosion

after another, in railway financiering, in the black scandals of big insurance, in the looting and ruin of New York traction companies, down to the vulgar and colossal pilfering under the shelter of the sugar trust, the drowsy public, like that insurance magnate, has been driven to look at the facts.

Society created the corporation, endowed it with extraordinary rights and privileges, and then, after the Civil War, allowed it to run its riotous course of irresponsibility to the public. The very types of great organizations, like transportation and city monopolies, which owed everything to the public, were permitted to act as if the properties were privately owned like a yacht, a farm, or a pair of horses.

For nearly a generation, every attempt to assert public rights was met, first by open contempt and then by evasion, with the contempt more or less concealed. Slowly the public is coming to its own. It has asserted and won its rights only by observing the disasters to its organic life and welfare. Through sheer suffering, it has learned why city government in the United States has sunk into such a welter of graft and wasteful expenditure as to make us a mockery among nations. It has had to learn how this municipal failure is bound up with private business schemes that play havoc with state and national legislatures. It is now learning why the battle is so fierce against the elemental duty of conserving our national resources.

Merely to connect these events in the public mind is to see, in business, in morals, in politics, a new world. It is a world that raises entirely new questions for those now appearing on the stage. They are questions on the answer to which every possibility of democratic government depends. The young man may now start really seeing one thing which his father could not see, namely, that our political life is mainly determined by the habits created in business. Politics rise slightly, if at all, above the average standards set by business men. As in a mirror, politics will reflect those standards. What, then, must the young man do in business to stand well with those who can promote him or ignore him? Must he become what the French call a "liar upon occasion"? If the decision fall to him, must he connive at briberies? At the strategic points of competitive rivalry, must he, one by one, throw over his ideals of truth-telling and common honesty? His lot may fall in business where these temptations cannot meet him; but if he meet them, what stand is he to take? If he "succeeds," and reaches the business man's heaven, sometimes called "the ground floor," where the "real inside information" is parceled out, "where large policies are decided and things precious are known before they happen," what — let us say as manager and director — is he to do with this favored knowledge? Is he to use it for the stockholders — or use it for himself or for his friends? Is he perhaps to deal it

out to important politicians, with the understanding that they in turn are to use their office for a private interest in which they are allowed a stake? "Tipping" to politicians, by those having inside information, has been and still is a practice so common and on such a scale that the inquirer who makes a moral issue out of it with practical men, is likely to be laughed at for his pains. The secret and unfair use of "inside information" is one of the most prolific causes not only of unnatural inequality, but of our political and social undoing.

What is the young man to do before an evil as insidious as this? Even the literature of "applied economics" is singularly destitute of any adequate discussion on this point. There is at last some wide popular sense of it in its moral aspects, and the young man must meet it. He must either use such knowledge against the public, continuing to debauch politics, or he must "draw a line," and thus take one step toward a new standard of business ethics.

William Henry Baldwin, Jr., had to meet these alternatives not once, but many times. He was once told by a man great in business and in political influence that it was "pretty rotten all round, but you really *had* to do these things." A large part of business, many corporations, and the opening up of new undertakings, it was maintained, made these briberies and favors as much a necessity as any other feature of the business. "You must either do those

things," he said, "or your competitors will walk all over you."

To Baldwin's honor, he challenged this, not merely in theory but with a certain blood-righteousness in his actual conduct. When it was said to him, "Very well, then, you simply pass the business over to your less scrupulous rival," he replied, "I'll take that risk. What I can't do straight, he shall have."

Whatever moral illumination his life has for us will be seen in his invincible struggle to keep that promise. Some business he did lose. He died with far less wealth than might easily have been his if the counsel of the "practical man" had been followed. But his lessened possessions never gave him a pang. He made some business mistakes which left their sting, but never once did he regret losses that came because he held to his standards.

No recent career illustrates better than Baldwin's what young men with high hopes may aim at, and also what they should wisely fear. There is not a stage in his rapid ascent that does not give encouragement to every one who would win without loss of self-respect. During a conversation about Baldwin, this question was put to the president of one of our universities: —

"Could you tell a body of students who are going into large corporate business, that success may be won with no loss to ethical ideals? Could you say that, without telling them any lies? Can they go

through the struggle to the end: through the organization, the financing, politics and all, with their moral idealism essentially unimpaired?"

There was some hesitation in his reply. He said finally, "I think that possible, if the man was *very* strong."

I heard this question discussed again by a teacher who had grown gray in one of our engineering schools. He had for many years been a special counselor of the students, and could speak with some authority. "What I like least of all," he said, "is that too many of the boys who leave the school with moral earnestness come back after a few years with a sadly different tone. Though they may be drawing high salaries, they tell me rather gloomily that they have to keep step with the organization in which they find themselves. They have to fall in with the methods, ways, and policies of the concern. In securing contracts, in the purchasing and sale of material, in dealing with aggressive rivals, or securing political favors, the strain upon men who are *at the points where temptation chiefly falls* is a thing to dread."

All abstract or academic answers to these perplexities are poor and colorless if compared with the example of a living and achieving human being. Baldwin makes his own answer to these questions. It is an answer in terms of a straight and honest life-record.

II

THE PURPOSE OF THE MEMOIR

After Mr. Baldwin's death, the writer had spoken of him to a group of university students. The same question of economic casuistry just noted had risen. In the "big business" of the country, especially in the large corporations depending upon public franchises and consequent political concessions, can one "succeed" without loss of moral integrity? Can one "play the game" with that mastery which success implies, and deservedly retain the name of a strictly honest, upright citizen?

No smug and jaunty optimism can answer that general question. There must first be some agreement as to what "the game" means. If it include every speculative effrontery in frenzied finance, no ethical question remains. In the discussion to which reference is here made, it was agreed that we limit "the game" to creative and constructive business. Even with this qualification the moral casuistries are full of embarrassment. The perplexities arise from the fighting elements in the competitive system. It was in such commercial rivalry as that between Mr. Hill and Mr. Harriman for railroad supremacy that these students found their illustrations. I doubt if

any one who knew Mr. Baldwin could have listened to that discussion without thinking of him and of his career. He was not in the class of the two railroad kings just cited. It did not fall to him to deal chiefly with finance or with political bodies. He did, nevertheless, reach real eminence, and reached it without a shadow on his name.

Such part as I had in the discussion was to use the main incidents in Baldwin's business activities as they bore on the question in hand. After the hour, one of the more mature students said, "That man's life ought to be put in shape so that we can all have access to it."

When asked by the family to prepare a life of Mr. Baldwin, that sentence came to me.

Something like this was in the mind of one of his classmates who said, "It would be a calamity if such a life as his were to pass without recording." There is little danger that those who knew him will either forget or lose the rich spiritual service of his companionship. The record is not therefore made primarily for them. In thousands of offices, in colleges, in Christian Associations, in schools, and on the farms, young men are haunted by his idealisms and eager with the same high hopes. Many of them look out upon life, as he looked upon it, as something momentous in its uncertainties. They see it as a thing to be moulded greatly or meanly, according to the animating will and purpose. In determining these destinies,

they need the guidance and the quickening for which young Baldwin sought with a kind of passion. To those who saw him on the threshold of his career, this eager and persistent hunger to know and to reach the best is a beautiful memory. That in rare degree he succeeded in his quest, is admitted probably by every person whose happiness it was to know him well.

That the story of Mr. Baldwin's life should be preserved for those who knew him, and even more for those who knew him not, has been asked from sources as many as they are diverse. It has come from the playfellows of his boyhood, as well as from his mates in school and university. It has come from business associates in the railroad world, from the highest to the lowest officials. The prompting for this is not merely that his railway coworkers felt toward him something more than respect. It is not merely that many of them held him in love and honor. The feeling has also found expression that a truthful record of his career might deepen and extend the influence which filled his days. Perhaps most urgently of all, the request has come from those who struggled at his side in those specific reforms to which so much of his best life was given. These more than others have measured that influence and known its worth.

One who knew him has said: "Baldwin 'made good' as business manager in a most difficult field and

at points in the railroad area, where competition was at white heat. He was the hardest kind of worker, and I never saw him discouraged. He became a railroad president when he was rightly spoken of as a young man. His advice was sought by some of our ablest men, and yet I often wondered if Baldwin was ever primarily a 'business man' as we commonly use that term." Pressed for further explanation this friend added: "Of course Baldwin's head, and much of his heart too, went to business in the narrower sense. To cope with the toughest railroad propositions which came his way was fun to him. He frankly loved to succeed and to make money, and to that end would toil with the best of us. Yet I have known him, with cool deliberation, to turn down chances which he knew would net him thousands of dollars. He turned them down because there was something else he valued more. No one could really know him without feeling that the *master influence of his life* was above and beyond the thing called business."

I have italicized the words "master influence of his life" because they seem to me to express fully and with precision all that this friend's hesitation implies. That Baldwin turned his back on gains for which some men sell their souls is known to many, but there are other proofs that the master influence of his life had its controlling centre in human and social interests. Ample and convincing evidence of this will

appear as the story of his life unfolds. The strongest men do not care primarily for money. They want *power*, of which money is the best practical symbol. They want power to defeat their rivals. They want it to compel an acknowledged leadership in the affairs of men. They want it for all the extravagant toys with which the embarrassed rich helplessly surround themselves. Well-nigh inaccessible extravagance is the hall-mark of social distinction which the "average sensual man" desires above all things. The final touchstone of a saving citizenship is in the uses to which this power is put.

To this high test I would submit Baldwin's entire career. From college dreams until his too early death, there are no unfilled gaps. The days hold an unbroken purpose to turn such power as he wins to helping human needs. There was a beautiful integrity in this purpose. It was once said of him, "Whatever has Baldwin at all, has the whole of him." It was much to have the appealing charm of personality and the rare gift for friendship which he possessed. It was much to have the gay and defiant optimism which never failed him. But more than any grace of person or peculiarity of temperament, was this wholeness and unity in his life-aim. It was the tireless giving of himself to large and generous causes that enables one to say without any cant, "It was a consecrated life." It was a consecration in terms of admirable citizenship.

The most frequent reason given why a "life" should be written has been that such an example of civic usefulness should be preserved for others. The best expression of this is in the words of his wife, Mrs. Ruth Standish Baldwin: "It has been my hope that Mr. Baldwin's life might be an encouragement to young men to do their best. I had thought more especially of students like himself, going out into the struggle and needing there every inspiration that could give them strength."

The writer ventures one other reason. Mr. Baldwin was, in its higher and nobler sense, fundamentally a democrat. To practice the equalities among all sorts and conditions of men was not an effort but a pleasure to him. As from inborn impulse, his fellowship was easy and natural with those serving under him in the lowest grades. So free was he from "airs" or awkward consciousness of any kind that those with the pick and the shovel were at home with him.

The tap-root of his democracy was a simple and genuine sympathy with his fellow men. This quality is very precious in men of executive power and skill. Such hopes as our Republic has, depend largely on men of this mould and temper. That men of this spirit can succeed in the competitive field has more promise in it than any fact known to me. It has hope because the main work in social regeneration will not be done by the mere critic or outside reformer. It

will be done largely by those upon whose shoulders the heavy tasks of the world's rough work actually fall.

William Henry Baldwin, Jr., was this manner of man. The word "success" has many meanings — some sinister enough. But Baldwin won it where the business game was hotly played. He won it with clean hands and with unstained honor. With our two fateful and overshadowing issues — that of race-contact, and that of "capital and labor" — he had much to do. In the forms of education that bear upon these, he had an almost passionate interest. The solving of these heavy problems is far in the future, but not one of us who looks for light and guidance along these darker ways will go unhelped by the quickening spirit of this brave man's courage and endeavor.

If without exaggeration of fact or sentiment, this history of a corporation manager can be properly told, it should have some message especially for young men. This is the expressed hope of the wife who stood by her husband throughout. He looked to her as a comrade and counselor. When in one of his home letters he says: "I want to talk hours with you about these plans," his reference was to one of his hardest problems, both upon its economic and its moral side.

If those who were strangers to him are helped by the spirit and achievement of the life here told; if

the printed page does for them in some measure what the gentle and masterful presence of the living man did for those who knew his fellowship, the purpose of the memoir will be justified.

III

A SERVICE OF HONOR

In the great hall of Boston's Tremont Temple, a memorial service was held October 20, 1909, in honor of William H. Baldwin, Senior, whose death came so close to that of Edward Everett Hale. Ex-Governor John D. Long was in the chair. After his many years of acquaintance with Mr. Baldwin, he began an address, full of feeling, with the words, "No memorial service was ever more deserved." The state, the city, business and various religious faiths were represented among the speakers. From those who had known the man at his work for forty years, the tale was told. It was not merely the story of a man conspicuously clean and good. It was the record of an institution-builder: one full of resource and invention; of energy so great that one of the older merchants objected to his election as president of the Young Men's Christian Union on the ground that they "did n't want a steam engine in that position." His evening classes, civic discussions, the country week, with its organized outings for multitudes of children and tired mothers, gymnasium, illustrated lectures, industrial education, a large library stripped of all red tape so that all could roam at will among the books, — prac-

tically all these were unknown in the Boston of forty-five years ago in the systematized form given them by Mr. Baldwin. This was the note of the Bishop of Massachusetts. It was not so much, he said, that Baldwin was so *good* a man, he was a man rich in suggestive power. The new education for young men at the Union is now a splendid commonplace. It has become with vast improvements an integral part of that immense moral force already working through the Young Men's Christian Associations in every part of the nation. The younger Baldwin found these associations indispensable and powerful agencies for good among railroad men.

He told me when starting his own railroad libraries at points where no Christian Association existed that they saved thousands of the men from "saloon habits." They can touch, he said, but a portion of the men, but it is the very portion which we want most to keep straight. As I listened to Bishop Lawrence at the memorial service in honor of the father, the picture of the son came before me. It was one of the last public addresses that young Baldwin ever gave. It was to an audience in a Young Men's Christian Association in Jamaica, Long Island. With the fearless candor that was always his, he stated his own different religious faith, but hastened to add his belief in the great solvent of social service; that men bound together in helping their fellows were made brothers in spite of intellectual differences expressed in creeds.

Upon the platform in Tremont Temple, clergymen of various sects — Episcopalian, Congregational, Unitarian — were saying and illustrating precisely that thing. They were rallying about the tradition of inclusive religious fellowship which the elder Baldwin had helped create in Massachusetts. The walking stick of the great Bishop, Phillips Brooks, was given to the elder Baldwin in token of the love that united them. The successor of Phillips Brooks closed his fine tribute by a bit of imagery which brought the son vividly and fittingly before that memorial audience. "Before I had ever seen Mr. Baldwin," said Bishop Lawrence, "Phillips Brooks had many times told me of him and of his work. The beautiful boy at Harvard, I did know," he added. "I followed him step by step as he rose from the time he left the Law School, to the West, to the South, to New York, making in every stage of his ascent the same impression of consecrated service to his fellow men which made him the son of his father."

Behind the Bishop as he spoke was Hardie's life-sized portrait of Mr. Baldwin, Senior, the gift of a Boston merchant, Mr. Spaulding. Before the imagination of the audience, Bishop Lawrence completed the picture, so that we saw there before us, as in a single frame, not one, but three figures, — in the centre the elder Baldwin and on either side Phillips Brooks and William Henry Baldwin the son.

With this fellowship in mind, I at once reread

young Baldwin's address to the Young Men's Christian Association in 1904, near his Long Island home. Every line of it rings with the spirit of brotherhood. It is a brotherhood secure and all-embracing because one and the same human service creates unity in the place of discord. "To do good together is to tolerate and forbear together." Before him in his audience were men of different color, nationality, and religion. "This country of ours," he said, "with its great mixture of races from all parts of the world, is working out the greatest problem that God has given men to meet." He showed how it came into the exasperations between capital and labor, into our race misunderstandings, and the national rivalries that create wars. He illustrated his point by the following: —

"I must tell you a story that a Jewish woman told me only a few days ago. She is a woman who devotes her time to the people on the poorer side of New York City. She lives in a tenement house on the East side, and passes daily by the door of a Chinese laundry. Each day she would stop and speak, and say, 'Hello, John!' and they would say, 'Hello, Lady!' After a couple of weeks, as she passed she saw only one Chinaman where there had been two and she asked, 'Where is the other John?' — 'Him in the hospital, — Clistian gentleman struck him in the head with a brick.'"

After the answering laughter, he took up that life-theme which was another epitome of his religion of

good will and justice, and its practice among men. What can make us feel and recognize the sanctity of it in all other human beings? What can make us know the infamy and cowardice of that "Christian" heaving a brickbat at the Chinaman? He did not often talk of religion, though the one who knew him through the deepest intimacies told me he was the most religious man she had ever known.

On this occasion he spoke freely of religion and of what he held its inner secret to consist. It was a manner and temper of daily life. Its real expression is not in a day apart; it is not in creed or ritual but in the total of our life's activity and in the spirit which prompts it.

At a railroad conference of the Young Men's Christian Associations in 1900, Mr. Baldwin was asked to make an address. In it he said:—

"Although I do not subscribe to the religious creed of the organization or of the Church, which is principally responsible for the support of these organizations, I believe as a practical man that the most effective work with real results can only be brought about by the work which you are doing. . . . It is not a false note for me again to suggest that you do not accomplish the greatest result, you do not do your work in a real high Christian spirit, unless you so conduct each branch and the whole organization as to welcome every man of every creed within your walls, and make it so agreeable, and so

pleasant, and so attractive (without leaving any sharp points sticking out), as not to keep out the Catholic, the Orthodox, the Hebrew or the Mohammedan, or even [pointing to himself] the Unitarian. You are strong enough; you are sincere enough; you are bright enough, all of you, to let the true bright Christian spirit prevail, so that we all may feel the effect, the inspiration of the work which you really mean to do."

If this were true, he said, the Young Men's Christian Association should welcome every man who came with honest desire in his heart to serve something greater than himself.

He then came to his own more concrete experience and to the specific reasons why he should gladly help this association to aid in establishing another in a centre crowded with railroad men, whose only place of recreation was the saloon.

"I was speaking only the other day to a friend of mine who told me that the Auditor of a railroad of which he was speaking, said to him that in a certain centre, where one of the railroad branches has since been organized, he had over five thousand dollars per month in pay orders for different men on different saloons in that one town. Mark you! The difference between five thousand dollars per month in orders on the saloons in that town when there was no Y. M. C. A., and to-day when there are practically no orders on a saloon in that region."

A large part of the men do not really want the saloon, he said, but if they go to it, they feel it is only fair and decent to buy a drink to pay for the entertainment which the place affords.

This appeal of the son is as if we were listening to a "practical talk" by the father. It is the religion of the older man. It is his plain good sense in applying that religion to the commonplace perils of the time and place. When the boy, in a letter to the father from the West, pours out his affection and gratitude for all that the home influence meant to him and would always mean, he is disclosing the reason why the spiritual legacy of the father and the home must have some part in the life-record of the boy.

IV

SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

The father's place and influence in Boston, his long and unselfish service to young men in and through the institution under his care, were a very living force in the boy's life. That the father with a growing family should give up a successful business for philanthropic work; that for two-score years he should cling to it in spite of flattering offers to go back to business, left its imprint of idealism on the heart of the boy. To something with the same motive and spirit, he too must give himself. The son was not moved solely, I think not chiefly, by the organized activities in the "Christian Union"; its classes, library, employment bureau, agencies for thrift, or lectures. It was rather the relation in which these manifold agencies stood to the larger civic and religious movement of the time. The father's distinction was not only in the management of an advanced and enlightened institute for young men, but also in the bearing of his work, after the Civil War, upon the whole liberalizing tendency of his time. For twenty years, there was in the community no more inclusive and radiating centre for broad and catholic discussion of applied religion and

ethics than that which the Christian Union offered. Though it was largely supported by Unitarians, men of many sects were glad to give their message before Union audiences. Here for years, from other fellowships, came Phillips Brooks, Dr. Gordon, and Leighton Parks to stand upon a common platform with James Freeman Clarke, Edward Everett Hale, and other Unitarians. President Baldwin felt it no infidelity to his Unitarian traditions that in his later years he should so frequently attend Dr. Gordon's Congregational church.

The best sign of the breadth of his affiliations was the cordiality with which the honored Archishop Williams invited him to take part in kindred work for young men carried on by the Catholic Church. No one was more welcome to address their gatherings than Mr. Baldwin. At their occasional festivities he was sometimes the only Protestant present. The abounding and untrammeled good will, the great simplicity and sincerity of character, easily explain the universal trust which able men placed in him. The great war Governor, John A. Andrew, gave him the heartiest support.

When Governor Rice wrote to President R. B. Hayes, in 1878, about Mr. Baldwin's work, he said: "He is one of the best men living." It was the same feeling of confidence and affection which prompted strong men like Henry P. Kidder, William Endicott, Jr., and Otis Norcross to stand by the Young Men's

Christian Union with such sustained and lifelong devotion.

In the long list of "lay sermons" which Mr. Baldwin himself delivered are titles like the following: "Our Duties as Citizens to Boston," "The Boy in the Country and the Youth and Man in the City," "The Ethics of Amusement," "The Ethics of Business," "Temptations *for Good* in a Great City," "What can we do to improve Boston?" "A Layman's Word to the Clergy," "The Right Start," "The Providence of God and the Improvidence of Man," "Travelling Salesmen, their Opportunities and Dangers."

The last subject treated by Mr. Baldwin drew from Professor A. P. Peabody of Harvard the words, "A more efficient style of Christian work than you have put into it, it would be vain to look for."

It also brought orders from business firms, one alone sending for several hundred copies to be distributed among traveling salesmen.

It was after one of these addresses, on "Profanity," that Phillips Brooks wrote him the following note:—

233 Clarendon Street, Boston,
May 21, 1890.

My dear Mr. Baldwin,—

Thank you for the good words on Profanity. I have read them carefully and you will be glad to know that I have given up the habit!

Faithfully yours,
Phillips Brooks.

There are many precious letters of sympathy with his work from Ralph Waldo Emerson, from Longfellow, Whittier, George William Curtis, Wendell Phillips, Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Cullen Bryant, Bronson Alcott, and Henry Ward Beecher.

It was to the Union that Wendell Phillips often turned to get a job for a man out of work.[1]

In 1876 John G. Whittier writes him: —

My dear friend, —

I regret that I am compelled by the condition of my health to decline the invitation, endorsed by my excellent friend, James Freeman Clarke. I know your works and labors of love, and the broad and liberal principles upon which your society is founded, and from my heart I wish you abundant success.

I am thy friend,

John G. Whittier.

It was at one of President Baldwin's larger meetings that Oliver Wendell Holmes read his message to the young men which, with its playful introduc-

[1] To the house on Essex Street, obscure almost to meanness, in which "the great Tribune" chose to live, many a workless man came for help, which, in some form, was rarely refused. In the following undated note he turns to the Union: —

Dear Baldwin, —

Here is a man — Mr. Sewall — who wants something to do to earn his bread — anything he will do — I do trust you will be able to find some opening for him.

Cordially,

Wendell Phillips.

tion and poem written for the occasion, is worth reproducing after thirty years. When Mr. Baldwin had introduced him the poet said: —

"I have never found in all my considerable experience any man quite so hard to refuse as the gentleman at whose request I appear before you this evening. If I may venture to change a little the lines of Lord Rochester, describing Sir Charles Sedley, —

> "(Baldwin) has that resistless, gentle art
> That can with a prevailing power impart
> (His tropic fervor to an arctic heart)."

I never could account for his power over men, young and old, until I reflected on his genealogy. I found on consulting my memory — and several cyclopædias — that there were nine Baldwins counts of Flanders; two Baldwins emperors of Constantinople; five Baldwins kings of Jerusalem. If he is not the lineal descendant of all these potentates, I am sure he must come straight from the line of those last five monarchs. For is not the Young Men's Christian Union a kind of New Jerusalem? and if Baldwin the sixth is not king of that, I should like to know who is. But I have not come here to assist at a coronation. I have come to look these young men in the face, to refresh my soul at the fountain of their youth, and to utter my good wishes, which their kindness will accept, I feel sure, as if it were eloquence I had to offer them. In looking upon them,

I cannot help thinking of all the mighty and astonishing events which they, or many among them, are to witness in the course of the coming half-century. Who could have guessed, fifty years ago, what my contemporaries and myself have seen come to pass? What surprises are in store for you, and what a blessed thing it is to have season tickets, signed youth, to let you in to see all the shows of the great world exhibition of the next five decades! . . .

"Will you accept the few lines I shall read you as a reminder of what we have a right to expect from the young men of the Christian Union?

"Why linger round the sunken wrecks
Where old Armadas found their graves?
Why slumber on the sleepy decks
While foam and clash the angry waves?
Up! when the storm-blast rends the clouds,
And winged with ruin sweeps the gale,
Young feet must climb the quivering shrouds,
Young hands must reef the bursting sail!

"Leave us to fight the tyrant creeds
Who felt their shackles, feel their scars;
The cheerful sunlight little heeds
The brutes that prowled beneath the stars;
The dawn is here, the day star shows
The spoils of many a battle won,
But sin and sorrow still are foes
That face us in the morning sun.

"Who sleeps beneath yon bannered mounds,
The proudly sorrowing mourner seeks,
The garland-bearing crowd surrounds?
A light-haired boy with beardless cheeks!

"'T is time this 'fallen world' should rise;
Let youth the sacred work begin!
What nobler task, what fairer prize
Than earth to save and Heaven to win?"

It was to Mr. Baldwin too that the poet gave, some years before he died, a favorite chair in which much of his life work had been done.

All this was held in modest estimation by Mr. Baldwin. When President Eliot wrote him in 1903, "Harvard University desires to confer on you, at the coming Commencement, the honorary degree of Master of Arts," he seems to have felt himself unworthy of the honor, and refused it.

This was the father of the boy, and this the work and atmosphere in which the boy grew up. With the whole practical side of it he had a keen and attentive sympathy. Its ideals fell in among his own, to shape and stimulate them.

The influence was redoubled because of the depth of affection in which he held his father. It is in the light of the father's work that the boy first speculates on his own future. The father's work hovers in his mind as a standard that should guide him. In an occasional mood of discouragement he fears that he is without gifts to act so directly for humanity. He must find other and humbler ways. Again, in a more confident spirit, he will do a kindred work, but in larger and broader ways which his own gen-

eration requires. Amid these uncertainties, he acts in the only sure way open to him. He can at least help his family. He was the sixth of nine children. In years that we call "tender" he showed an almost unnatural anxiety to take some part of the family burden. He had no intimates willing to get up at 4.30 o'clock in the morning to sell newspapers; but he could form a route for this purpose without one touch of shame, and with the sole aim of making life a little easier at home. We shall see that the impulse never lessens in him. It was as strong in college, and in the later years it develops with his manhood into noble solicitudes.

V

BOYHOOD AND COLLEGE

William Henry Baldwin, Jr., was born in Boston on the fifth of February, 1863. He was the sixth child of William Henry and Mary F. A. (Chaffee) Baldwin.[1] Of his childhood there is singularly little

[1] The ancestry is traced from County Bucks in England.

In 1340 Henry Baldwin was taxed at Little Wissenden. John, Sr., and John, Jr., were two out of three of the founders of the fraternity or brotherhood of the Town of Aylesbury, in 1429. The most prominent Baldwin of Bucks was Sir John Baldwin, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas of England in 1536 to 1546.

The line continues down to Henry Baldwin, who came from England and settled in North Woburn, Massachusetts, prior to 1640, and continues down in a direct line to William Henry Baldwin, who was born in Brighton, Massachusetts, October 20, 1826. The line is as follows: —

(1) Henry Baldwin, of North Woburn, who died February 14, 1697. His ninth son was

(2) Henry Baldwin, born September 15, 1664, died January 17, 1739.

(3) Henry, his eldest child, born February 27, 1717, died November 17, 1789.

(4) Thaddeus, his eighth child, born December 7, 1758, died January 28, 1827.

(5) Henry, his fourth child, born August 21, 1790, died April 18, 1833.

(6) William Henry, his fourth child, born in Brighton, October 20, 1826, died June 8, 1909.

(7) William Henry Baldwin, Jr., his sixth child, born in Boston, February 5, 1863, died January 3, 1905.

to write down. There is nothing for our amazement or our dismay. So far as the writer has learned from the family or from friends, it was a childhood without a single monstrosity of saintly or portentous behavior. It was without any sign of fearful precocity. He had his full share of family adoration, but none of those who loved him in a home circle of exceptional tenderness recall any intimations of prodigy in deportment or in utterance. There is left us no store of smart sayings. The following is about the best, and even this is of doubtful interpretation:—

Bearing his father's full name, the "Junior" alone distinguished him. He was early impressed by this, and while still a very tiny chap was sent to the family drug-store hard by to have a medicine bottle refilled. As the clerk passed it to him over the counter, the child said, "You can please charge that to William H. Baldwin, — without the Junior," leaving some uncertainty as to whether the lad was prudently avoiding responsibility for his father's debts or exercising a youthful humor.

What we have in happiest abundance is perfect health, high spirits that go with opulent vitality, a good deal of noisy gayety, — in a word, a wholesome and altogether happy boyhood. The days were full of play and laughter as they were full of ardent family affection. A sister, whose companionship and confidences were very precious to him, notes from this period, as one of the most conspicuous traits,

"the rare tenderness of his nature." It was a charm he never lost.

A commonplace question which the author has had so often to ask of his closer friends, "What most attached you to him?" has many times been answered in terms of this same "rare tenderness of his nature." It was a grace all the more appealing, as life went on, because tenderness which plays upon a surface of power never loses its fascination.

After college his days were so laborious as to leave scant leisure for friendly correspondence. He writes vehement excuses in sentences that throb with affection. The lump is in his throat if word comes from home that the dog Roger is ill. In the year when his duties were heaviest, his secretary notes that though his desk was heavy with the most pressing communications, he would first look eagerly for the family letter.

The one note of distinction disclosed by these first years is this tenderness and desire to help. It is still the same boy who, many years later, wrote his mother when honors were coming to him thick and fast: —

"I think over and over again of the good time I had with you. It did my soul good to feel that we are so closely interested in each other, and I only regret that the distance is so great that I cannot see you each day. My ambition has been founded on my love and interest in the family, and it has given me a new

incentive to find that absence and time have only increased and intensified my appreciation of you and Father and all at home.

"I look forward with great hope, to accomplish something of which you can be proud. —Your appreciation will be worth more than the whole world beside."

Of the child days, a brother writes: —

"In his still earlier life . . . I remember very clearly his great ambition to do what he could for the family. He felt it was his duty to help in his way, and not only for the purpose of giving himself what young fellows would call 'spending money,' but enabling him to do with it acts of kindness to various members of his family. He had a number of ways in his early school days of earning small amounts, which perhaps in themselves were not of enough importance to enlarge upon, but were of importance in that they showed the trend of his mind in very early life. . . .

"One of the things all through his life that impressed me most was his never-failing devotion to his father, mother, and his brothers and sisters."

There was much honest purpose to learn his lessons day by day, but they were not his passion. If in many of them he passed but fairly well, he was not much discomforted. At the Roxbury Latin School the work of the class-room lay rather lightly upon him. We find him once ordered to a front seat, where

his vivacity could have the master's nearer observation. He was never primarily the student or the man of books. The active forces were too strong in him. He was among the first on the playground in the fitting school, and the appointed leader in some of the sports. If anything was to be *organized*, from a baseball team to a musical quartette, none was so likely to be chosen for the task as he. This premonitory gift is marked even in his teens. In the final year of the fitting school (1880–1881), when his mind became fixed upon college, he turned more seriously to study. His name is among those who take part in the "Closing Exercises." The part assigned was a declamation, so far effective in delivery as to prompt one of the listening trustees — a friend of the lad's father — to say, "There is a chip of the old block," and from another trustee the remark that "the chip was bigger than the block."

With these preparations, and with such foreshadowing of coming fortunes as the scant chronicle can give, he goes to Harvard College. A little troop of fast friends was already upon the ground. He passes a "satisfactory examination," in the words of the recording document. "Satisfactory" technically describes his class-room work throughout the course. His first year disclosed certain weaknesses in the command of ancient geography and history, to which attention had to be called. In the second year he sails rather closely, but quite safely, above

the required seventy per cent, something like "excellence" being reached in chemistry.

The next year his margin of security is narrower still, though he reaches a high mark in natural history. His final year, as in the Latin School, shows a different record. On the scale of 100, his rank was $83\frac{1}{2}$; still at his best in natural history. Superiority in this study was doubtless owing largely to the personal influence of Professor Shaler. The inspiration of this teacher had a tonic quality which stirred the pupil to something more than an intellectual interest. Of the bounty of this many-sided man Baldwin spoke and wrote with more than ordinary feeling. For his instructors generally, he was full of loyalty. "The *men* out here," he writes of his professors, to Mr. Nash, "fill one with ambition and enthusiasm." But he adds in the same letter, "Shaler has done more to broaden my intellect than any other."

A little later, when urging a reluctant brother to take the college course, his most persuasive illustration is this treasured influence from Shaler's class-room.

It was this teacher who gave to him the first suggestion of a tentative vocation. It gave him some days of fluttering indecision, but in a letter to a member of his family he concludes that he is ill fitted for an "intellectual career." That the pupil should have stood out against the proposal urged upon him by his favorite teacher, is perhaps the first sign of an instinct for self-direction and independence which

served him well in years that follow. With swift finality he learned to say "no" to many an offer of advancement, if it appeared unrelated to his goal. In these months just preceding graduation, this purpose was far from clear. As a second suggestion, Professor Shaler proposed a definite piece of summer work to be done under his own direction. In his state of indecision the pupil wrote, "It would no doubt be a valuable experience to undertake it under the supervision of such a man."

This is the familiar experience of students. I once heard a literary veteran put it into these words: "It is worth all that the schools cost if the long discipline brings each one of us into living touch with *one* real instructor: one whose word reaches the soul and creates that hunger of the mind whose satisfaction *is* our education." This much-loved man of science imparted so much of this hunger to Baldwin that the zest for geological observation never left him. It was far more than a commercial interest. He was always on the alert to read the earth-record in river-bed or on the mountain-side. After some years in the West he sent to Professor Shaler some memoranda of investigations which brought the following response:—

November 19, 1891.

My dear Mr. Baldwin, —

I was absent from Cambridge, on a week's vacation which I am accustomed to take in November as

a trifling privilege due me on account of my summer work with students, when your kind letter of November 8th came for me. I have read it with great interest. Your notes on the Idaho deposits are extremely interesting and your connection of the bone beds with earthquake shocks naturally occurring in connection with volcanic outbreaks, is an important, and to me unknown, illustration of such accidents.

Your notes as to the effect of fire entirely agree with what I have seen. Nowhere else in his contact with Nature can the savage man so readily and rapidly change the conditions of the earth. When he acquired the art of making a fire he became a destroyer, and a large part of our treeless plains are due to the interference which fire made it possible for him to exercise in the conduct of the world's affairs.

I like the suggestion you make concerning the means whereby the remnants of the Rocky Mountain forests have been preserved. The suggestion as to the action of melting snows is most interesting. . . .

There is doubtless something in your view that the plowing of the soil prevents a portion of the water from entering the rivers and through them flowing to the basins. I find the suggestion instructive. . . .

I gratefully appreciate your reference to your studies with me. This is my twenty-eighth year as a teacher: the past seems a realm of shadows, except where here and there I see such a clear light as

your words bring to me. I thank you for them with all my heart and remain,

Ever yours,
N. S. Shaler.

While he fails in high rank of technical scholarship, it would be wide of the mark to say that the college did not highly educate him. Of much that its nurture has to bestow, few men drew more deeply than he. Beyond the drill of the class-room are countless springs from which the learner may drink: music, dramatic arts, the college press, athletic sports in every form, capital occasions to test administrative gifts, and — best of all — its waiting chances for ennobling, lifelong friendships. Not one of these benefits is to be omitted from the fullness of college influence. Scarcely one of them is to be skipped in any true account of what Harvard University did for Baldwin. Like a strong swimmer, he takes the full tide. The Glee Club, the College stage, a students' journal, sports upon the field and river, administrative drudgery that taxed his time, together with many club and social affiliations, — each and all of these lay their claim upon him. They all enrich him, but only because he gives, as well as takes. It is these which bind him with such loving fidelity to his college traditions. As the years lengthen, not one of these memories grows stale. His passion for music, among all recreations, gave him the keenest

delight. He appears in the Glee Club, and later becomes its leader. He is often down for a leading song in the "Pudding," and upon several musical programmes — Pierian Sodality and Harvard Quartette. In the D. K. E. Theatre, in the spring of 1883, he plays the part of Prince Poppetti (the Royal Voluptuary) in the "thoroughly revised and expurgated 'Cinderella,'" and again, in "Joan of Arc or the Old Maid of New Orleans," he has the part of Charles the Seventh. He is active in the chorus of "Hernani," when the managers of the Hasty Pudding Club were so moved by the spirit of reform as "to depart from the custom which has obtained during recent years of making the annual performance a Burlesque. They think that the time has come to take a higher and more æsthetic stand before the Club and the world, and they have therefore arranged with a French writer of some eminence, Mr. Victor Hugo, to prepare a drama suitably alive to their artistic aspiration and to the scope of the talent which is at their disposal."

It was not all merry-making. He had become active in the Harvard Dining Association, of which he became president at a hazardous time. His friend and classmate, George R. Nutter, says,[1] "It was at a crisis in its history, for during his administration a new steward had to be procured, and in the man-

[1] In an admirable sketch of his career in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, March, 1905.

agement of this association Baldwin showed the traits that afterwards were so conspicuous in his executive work."

He was treasurer of the Harvard Coöperative Society. He became chairman of his Class Committee, holding the position until his death. Besides the Hasty Pudding, he was a member of the "Dickey," the Alpha Delta Phi, the O. K., and the Shakespeare Club. He was the Freshman editor of the "Harvard Echo," "the first daily paper at college, famous in its day chiefly for the eccentricities of its proof-reading."

In the junior and senior years he is at the oar upon his class crew. These do not exhaust his activities, but they are proof that his academic years were not idle. He was athletic without excess of over-concentration upon any sport. None of his popularity was owing to the noisy idolatry of mere athletic prowess, and it is well that he had none of its dizzying distinctions.

If not thus primarily a man of books, he acquired one best result of education — the rare facility in getting at the gist of a knotty subject. What was central and important at once caught his attention and held it. Irrelevant details did not confuse or divert him.

Before his graduation, one who saw much of him in intimate ways wrote a penetrating "character study," from which I quote. It helps one to see why

teacher and fellow student alike give him both love and honor. While still in the preparatory school, some lad had fallen into disgrace that marked him for punishment. The boys held a consultation. The offense appeared to them so slight that a petition was signed in the delinquent's favor, and it was Baldwin who carried it to the teacher. It did not change the master's opinion, but he was touched by the boy's open and fearless manner.

It is this trait first noted in the "character study," — "perfect health and strength, kept by exercise at its full pitch, pervade soul, mind and body," with "manliness" as the crowning characteristic. The sketch continues:—

"In one respect he certainly approached perfection; for surely a man should be before all things manly, and manliness is one of B.'s most prominent and inherent characteristics. . . . It would be as impossible for him to be morbid as to be effeminate or affected.

"Sincere and straightforward by nature, he has a rough and sweeping contempt for shams and empty forms. . . .

"He can be discovered in no position more frequently or more characteristically than in that of stepping out of his way to exert himself for some one else — as often as not, a perfect stranger. If I were told of a fainting lady carried out of church or theatre, a run-away horse stopped, a disabled friend's busi-

Wm. K. Baldwin Jr.

Class portrait, 1885

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ness undertaken at considerable risk, I should not need to hear the name of the actor in any of these cases — if B. were in the neighborhood at all, he would be sure to be at the front. . . .

"He is absolutely free from the small vices common to young men, although he has a temperament and talents so eminently social, that they can hardly have failed to be at times a temptation. . . .

"A description of any man must be incomplete without some hints, at least, at his external appearance, though in his case, as it happens, the outside corresponds excellently with what is within. . . . His head is rather large and well-rounded. His broad forehead, merry blue eyes, deep-set under strongly marked dark brows, . . . square jaw, and mouth of rare sweetness, closing over perfect teeth and shaded by a soft dark mustache — all set in a fresh ruddy face, beaming with animation and good-humor — show plainly in every line and feature the mingled strength and sweetness of his character. Indeed his face and manner are such good credentials that he makes friends wherever he goes, and it is amusing to pass through any crowded thoroughfare or public conveyance with him, and notice how often his acquaintance is claimed, and not in vain, by persons of every age, sex, and degree. . . .

"Thus faintly and imperfectly have I tried to sketch the character and appearance of *one who is sure before many years to be widely known and as*

widely honored. But whether his talents and energy succeed or not in winning for him the position and renown that he deserves, those who have enjoyed the privilege of his friendship, though separated from him by many miles and years, will keep very vivid his beloved memory, and they will always hear with a thrill of peculiar comprehension, the familiar line, 'An honest man's the noblest work of God.'"

I have italicized the prophetic line in this shrewd appraisal. Schoolday affections do not commonly result in so happy a foretelling, yet it is not unlike another friend's observation nearly twenty years later: "Baldwin rose by steps so rapid that we never knew where at any moment to look for him, except that it was sure to be at some higher point. I doubt if any classmate was ever surprised at his progress."

VI

THE CHOICE OF A PROFESSION

Dr. Robert Collyer, whose love for the parents and son had the tenderest expression, recalls, even in the child, moods of deep seriousness. The near approach to any step which appeared of real importance to him brought out this graver quality of temperament. In his final year at college came the question of his life-work. We need not insist that the disquietudes of the decision were in his case extreme or exceptional. "What now am I to do for livelihood? In what manner am I to use these new aptitudes? How am I now to make good in the rough and tumble of the world?" are the ordinary anxieties of the student at this parting of the ways. They are doubtless keenest among the poorer and more conscientious of the students; keenest among those who feel, as Baldwin did, that the burden of educating him and others of the family fell too heavily upon the parents. Partly for this, and partly because it was in his character so to feel, the solicitude of choosing a career cast a slight shadow on the brightness of these last academic days.

My own acquaintance with him while he was in college was of the slightest. He came to me once with questions about some possible "social work," with

which he expressed strong sympathy. It was clear to me by what he said that the long and splendid service of his father for young men was in his mind, as showing at least the spirit of what he would like to attempt. Just as evident was it that the work at the Union did not wholly satisfy the son's ambition. That the "social question" was somehow uppermost; that he should like to know more definitely what it meant and what a college boy could do about it, is my only clear memory of the meeting.

Were avenues opening in these new fields where one could really serve his fellows and count with some security upon his loaf of bread? Could he do these things better as a clergyman? In that moment, he was critical and distrustful of this form of ministry, but rather eager, I think, to hear such arguments as one might bring in its favor. With the narrower issue of "capital and labor" could a clergyman, in time of trouble between employer and employed, exercise real influence, or would he be handicapped because he was a clergyman? Could a lawyer or a business man be freer for these duties than a minister? Were there any kinds of business in which one could earn a living and still have margin for study and social usefulness? Such as these were his questions.

My feeling as he left was that he had been wholly unhelped by any hint that I tried to give him. Though a quarter of a century has passed since then, one remembrance is still fresh: it is the clear and

beautiful memory of the boy himself. It is a picture I would not lose. He was so good to look upon, with rich bright color in a complexion clear and delicate as a girl's; the blue eyes as full of tenderness as they were of sleeping fire; a smile that no one could quite resist, — all these were so aglow in his sturdy, alert figure that they have scarcely lost an outline in my recollection.

To this cherished image of him must be added one other impression. It was not merely the conviction of an absolute sincerity, but that the choice, once made, would carry the whole man with it.

A few weeks before graduation he wrote at much length to a Boston business man for whom he had great affection and in whom his confidence was entire. They had already talked much together, but now, on the background of these conversations, the young man asked for more definite guidance. He had considered medicine because of a vague love of science, but turned from it when its specific duties were faced. I find, he says, no "real leaning toward it," and what can one do if the whole heart is not in the calling?

There was more serious perplexity about a legal profession. "The law has absorbed me a great deal this winter," he writes; but when he makes inquiries among his lawyer friends he gets scant encouragement. They advise him to take it up if "his whole soul is in it," if he feels so strongly about it that he

can't turn to anything else. This so little describes his case that it is for the time dismissed.[1]

Of the clerical profession he writes, "The ministry has occupied more of my thoughts than anything else, because I have always had a *fear* that I should become a minister. Father has always desired it, and I find that many of my friends really expect it. Of course that would make no difference, were it not that I have naturally a strong interest in the doing good part of the ministry and am always interested in social questions almost exclusively."

These exclusions leave him to decide on some phase of business. "Is there any line in foreign or commission business where one can meet the responsibilities and still have leisure for study of social questions and for outside work?" If there is fair hope of this, he is willing to try. If it can be answered, he begs to know what truth there is in what has been often told him by business men: that to succeed one must give up all thought of studious hours and outside work.

To this his friend first replies: "I do think there is 'a tendency to a lack of broad life in business,' and one has to struggle against becoming a 'one idea man,' and unless one has a strong taste for a hobby

[1] When he had accepted Mr. Adams's offer on the Union Pacific he actually entered the law school for a time, thinking that some preliminary studies there might fit him the better for service on the railroad.

and is inordinately fond of books, he is very very apt to seek the merest trifling pleasures of life after leaving the counting-house. This is more a fact than the average business man is aware of."

The two usual reasons for this are given: the pitiless pressure of competition and the increasing requirements of specialization. The counsel is very definite, distinguishing as the reply does between mercantile pursuits and banking or manufacturing: "Remember, I am now speaking of trade in its general bearing — by which I mean that branch which gathers together merchandise of all sorts and breaks it up into parcels to suit the varying wants of the consumer." It is admitted that certain mercantile branches afford a good deal of idle time, but warning is given that it is an evil sort of leisure and cannot be counted upon. Here is, indeed, a margin of freedom wide enough, but a most unhappy one. It is too irritating and too incalculable. It furnishes neither the right atmosphere nor the kind of leisure upon which one can depend.

After a passage upon the growing promise and importance of banking, the "three professions" are in turn considered, with a caution about the ministry, for the reason, mainly, that the young man himself so seriously doubts about it. This calling least of all, his adviser thinks, should be entered with critical hesitations.

One thing in the ministry about which the young

man's mind hovers is the traditional assumption of this calling, that men enter it with the one controlling end in view, namely, "to do good." In such definition as he could give of "doing good," this was strictly what he too wished to do. "I am sure of one thing," he says, "I want to work for humanity. When and how can one do most for his fellows?"

A little later he writes: "I am in a most remarkable state of doubt and indecision. I seem to have no power of deciding what is best for me to do in life. In ambitious moments I get carried away with all sorts of large ideas — and then the reaction comes and I feel as if I could never do anything.

"I have surveyed the field of the so-called professions with great care, and I find myself where I started. I was very anxious to take a profession, all last winter, for I feared the tendency to a lack of a broad life in business. I shuddered to feel that I must go into business, because I have heard so much of the bad side of it. Still, I have always had the feeling that my natural tastes led me towards business, that is as far as experience has shown any capacity."

With much fearless candor and honesty he tries to find his way through the mists into some clearness upon these points. "Doing good" is a phrase with a thousand meanings. How can it have satisfying meaning for him, now that social questions, as he thinks, overtop all others? Every calling that he considers, he considers in the light of this inquiry:

will it enable me to *serve* better than another? Doctor, surgeon, lawyer, and business man, — each is brought to the same tribunal; to each he applies the moral and social test of the favoring chances which it offers for the larger life he hopes to live.

A glad release from these uncertainties came in a summons from Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the President of the Union Pacific Railroad. In search of young men of promise, he had turned to President Eliot, whose son Samuel was one of Baldwin's closest friends. As a result of this intimacy and of President Eliot's cordial approval, the choice fell upon Baldwin.

As the main object is to give the larger purpose and spirit of Baldwin's life rather than the details of business or the exactitudes of time and place, it has seemed better to avoid filling in the text with dates which shift with confusing rapidity from 1886 to 1896, when he reached his final position as president of the Long Island Railroad.

That the reader may not be too much at sea about these changes, the following is here given for reference. In February, 1886, he went to Omaha, to the Auditors' office of the Union Pacific Railroad, to familiarize himself with railroad accounting. From May to August of the same year, he was in Mr. Adams's office at Boston. From August to December, again in Omaha. From December 1 to May 1,

1887, in the General Traffic Department, studying the handling of freight and making of rates. May, 1887, to Butte, Montana, as Division Freight Agent of the Union Pacific. June 1, 1888, to February, 1889, Assistant Freight Agent in Omaha. February, 1889, to September, 1889, Manager of the Leavenworth Division. September, 1889, to August, 1890, General Manager of the Montana Union R. R. August, 1890, to June, 1891, Assistant Vice-President, Omaha. June, 1891, to July, 1894, General Manager of the Flint and Père Marquette R. R., Saginaw, Mich. July, 1894, to October, 1896, Southern R. R., Washington, D. C. October, 1896, until his death in 1905, President of the Long Island R. R.

VII

A NEW WORLD

After months of restless indecision, his final choice is quick and confident. Like one tossing in a boat befogged, the first sight of land tightens every muscle, and he bends joyously at the oar. He has the hilarity of one in a race. There is no stickling for petty favors. He asks no odds, makes no conditions. He is told plainly by Mr. Adams that he shall have his chance. Beyond that there are to be no promises.

In the first of February, 1886, he leaves for Omaha, wondering to his friend Nutter, if in that far country he shall ever find such congenial spirits as he leaves behind. With small pay, he enters the office, to make monthly reports and disentangle accounts. His first batch is in confusion. Is he, or are the figures, muddled? His superior confronts him with the suggestion that "no one but the Almighty can understand them." The young man thinks this a reflection upon the Deity, because it would discredit the highest wisdom to understand anything so irrational. Very rapidly order takes the place of chaos. Within a week he writes gleefully to his mother as if the work were the best of sport. Like a young colt that has

pulled easily its first load, he has no fear of the next. One of the higher officials of the Union Pacific says of his first days, it was the young man's thoroughness in doing *unimportant things* which first impressed him. He recalls the enthusiasm with which the boy, fresh from college, took on any new work that was put in his way. To be eager and painstaking about bits of drudgery, to do them "almost too well," did not pass unnoticed. This officer gives three reasons why the young man so early attracted the attention of his superiors: his enthusiasm, his entire thoroughness, and his faculty of application. A little later another gift is noticed: the indefinite thing called *tact.* While still at Omaha, it was reported at the Boston office that this rare quality had saved him in situations of special difficulty. The West gave him his chance. He won there his first spurs with these varied efficiencies, enthusiasm, thoroughness, capacity of application, and tact.

His advancement from "the hack work of making figures connect" to higher positions, comes so fast that an onlooker wonders how it will be taken by older men and by those far longer at work. That a well-groomed Harvard boy, believed by those above him to be a pet of the chief officer of the railroad, should shoot so rapidly beyond his fellows was likely to excite protesting jealousy. Yet one (not a Harvard man) who was long with him, Mr. Josiah H. Hill, wrote: "He had succeeded in every position, and

was noted for his energy and capacity for an enormous amount of work, and, above all, for his keen insight into human nature, self-control and genial disposition. It is perhaps a sufficient commentary upon the character of the man that, although he went into the Union Pacific directly under the auspices of the then President, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and although his promotions and opportunities for experience in the various departments were unusually rapid, he was almost universally liked and respected."

That attractive subtlety of temperament would have flowered in him under any skies, but it came to him all the sooner in the world whose newness and strangeness put him on his mettle to get on with every man who came his way.

In a letter to his mother he dwells with kindly touches upon the peculiarities of people he had come to like. There are names and details too definite to be given here ; but throughout there is not only good-humor, but a positive affection in his characterizations. "I get hold of all the curious and odd people, and make them friends. I am coming to the conclusion that such people are the real thing, and all these conventional ones who are following some unknown leader and herding together like a flock of sheep, are poor stuff."

Of his eight years of western experience, he often spoke as if it were an inestimable post-graduate

course of education. It was the West a quarter-century past, with its immense resources still waiting the hand of the organizer. Without a challenge, an unchecked individualism held the ground. Forests, pasture, mines, and water-powers were the prizes of any man powerful enough to seize and hold them. As something secondary and accidental, like courts and legislation, the organized restraints of society came tardily. Politics waited like a servant on these foremost business interests. The politician took his orders without shame or hesitation. In the farther West at that time, what is properly called the public good was not distinguished from private commercial interest. It was the inevitable policy of new and unconquered domains. Timber areas, large as eastern states, might be turned to ashes if only a private company could be enriched, just as rivers were choked by unregulated mining for the same end. All the large values that are distinctly common and public were thought of, if at all, as something dim and far in the future. In the whole mighty subduing of the continent, this has been our way. The consciousness of a wider national good, to which the individual must yield, has come to us slowly and at appalling cost. Nothing has so aroused this consciousness as the railroad and its various reactions upon society. It has united outlying interests in such manner that we can at last see the conflict between public and private good. Above all other material things, the

railroad has given us our object-lesson in industrial and political responsibility. In binding us together, it has sharpened every outline of a common destiny.

Of all that this now means to us, Baldwin had then but the faintest notion. He had to learn it, but nowhere could the instruction come with more convincing directness. This western education had also its human side. He left his Boston atmosphere not quite free from a sense of New England superiority. This was not natural to him, for few youths were less cursed by snobbishness than he. I heard it once said of him, "There is n't a drop of toady poison in Baldwin's body"; and it was true. It would, nevertheless, have been pretty nearly a miracle if a lad of his rearing had not caught by imitation some taint of self-complacency. It is precisely what older communities the world over, develop in their attitude toward neighbors who live in newer and less conventional regions.

The young man's first letters from the West bear traces of this feeling in the humorous first impressions which he dashes off. But even these are quick to disappear and give place to other judgments. His irresistible good fellowship made him see the best in men with whom he dealt. Within a month he writes, "I feel as if I had never lived until I came out here."

In his first important position, where he is "out for business," he falls in with men of uncouth ways; with some, indeed, so rough with eccentricity as to

stagger him a little. But close business relations give him also the human touch, and he discovers the good fellow. "It is astonishing," he writes, "how many of them you meet and how you come to like them." He tells his mother about one of these whose acquaintance brought out the "real stuff" which he thinks one finds oftener in the West than anywhere else. In these most private letters, where even good men and women vent their little spites; where they feel secure in extemporizing human antipathy, or in depicting the frailties about them; even these intimate pages of Baldwin are a record of almost indiscriminate good will. Some of them are marked "Personal" with the hint that no one but the receiver is to read them. Here, if anywhere, critical severities would appear, yet there is not a line of gossipy meanness against any human being. If he goes to a party where the supper is followed by serious and impartial distribution of chewing-gum, and where almost every person eagerly sets to work upon it, he does not, even in his letter, rant about it. He notes it jocosely, but takes his gum and joins gayly in the general rhythm. He writes of it kindly as if he liked them none the less. The letter that is "Personal" is rather to tell with entire modesty some better prospect of his own which he knows will give pleasure to parent or sister. If his mood is one of possible failure, the expressed anxiety is because his lack of success may carry disappointment to those at home.

Among his duties, he falls in with a man of bad record. He hears much ill of him, finds that he "looks the part" and is very repellent. The letter which describes him leaves on the reader no such disagreeable impression. It is rather of a character in which there were surprises of good; one with whom, after all, you could get on and become wiser for the acquaintance.

It is these lighter confidences which show us why he got on in the West, as he could have got on in the East or wherever human beings are so humanly met. This unaffected kindliness is noted high and low by those about him. It was not simply that he did his monthly report "better than was necessary"; that he got order into his confused accounts; that he was ready with adroit suggestions of a better method of doing things. It is not even that he "left each job clean and without any ragged edges." It is not the total of these that explains his promotion. Proved sufficiency at these tasks would in due time have compelled recognition. But to every separate capability in routine work, he added this human asset. His smile wins the office-boy to make a better record of his own. Men disgruntled by neglect, real or fancied, work better in his department. "Where Baldwin is, there is less friction and fault-finding." The human touch enhances every business value, and doubtless always did. But it has a new and far higher value in these latter days. The serfs and half-serfs in the older

labor world could be driven, and the ignorant and unorganized even in our own time have been "managed" by cunning devices. In industries more highly organized, where labor has become conscious of its rights and determined to secure them, another order of gift is required in the manager. However we name this gift, the term "business ability" does not alone define it. Its distinction is also in the human element. It is the power which men obey for reasons that are not merely "business."

In a great concern in the Middle West, employing thousands of men, a concern conspicuously free from labor troubles, I once asked its president why, in a department where the hours were long and the work of the heaviest, there was no trouble with the men. "Well," he answered, "I can't tell you, unless you can explain to me the character of the foreman. There is something about him that they like. He is often very harsh, and I don't understand myself what his power is. He allows no man any special favors and he never seems to conciliate them by any flatteries."

I asked, if I could go among the men and try myself to find out the secret. I was allowed to experiment, and, after one or two rebuffs, a man was found who entered eagerly into my inquiry. But neither could he explain why "every decent man" liked the foreman. To what the president had said, he could only add, "We all feel that he 's absolutely straight

with us, and when any one is in real trouble, he 's tender as a woman." From another man I got only this: "He 's jest great on his job. He knows about everything better 'n any of us."

If this but half explains the mystery of personal power over men, it gives us some hints. That the foreman "was jest great on his job," that though gruff, he "was straight with every man"; and lastly that in time of trouble he was "tender as a woman," here in acknowledged combination are competence, justice, and mercy. He was the conceded master in his own field; he dealt out equity between man and man; and in time of need he had compassion.

There are doubtless qualities still unaccounted for, but these endowments go far to make the human asset upon which the great corporation is forced to set in these days an ever higher price. This illustration does not accurately describe Baldwin, but shows at least how hard it is to put this power over men into words. It is a spiritual force, so tempered that men find pleasure in yielding to it. In a score of letters recommending or suggesting his various promotions, his qualifications are set forth in different terms, but in them all one finds this surrender to his personality rarely omitted. A good instance of this power is given with frankest humor by an old schoolmate trained in the higher engineering. In 1888, the engines of a Kansas branch were under his supervision. To his delight, Baldwin became manager. In almost

every instance the meaning of his advancement was that he took up an exceptionally hard job — in Montana, on the Kansas Central; the Flint and Père Marquette; the Southern, the Long Island, — one and all were in some sort of difficulty. There was a receivership, a dangerous falling-off of traffic, properties running at a loss, or an ominous competitor in the field. Because of these perils, Baldwin was the chosen man. In the present instance, this engineer, at the head of his division, thus describes the road with its "rotten ties on the Kansas Central and but little better on the standard gauges. All flues leaked; cracked crown sheets and broken frames were the rule on the narrow gauge, and poorly fenced right of way led vagabond cattle to contest the right to the track with our engines, so that train delays due to hitting stock were numerous."

"Immediately on taking charge, Baldwin announced in his positive, confident way that every wheel and every man would be expected to work and keep working, for he intended to get all the business his rotten mud-sills and patched boilers could handle. Soon, however, there came to his desk reports of train delays most exasperating. One day a train of competitive freight was held two or three hours, doubling and slacking up a long hill, and Baldwin sent a note to my office saying that he was 'tired of these continual engine failures.' Feeling sure of my ground, I replied in a facetious vein. Instantly came

an assurance that I was *not to be the Joker in that pack* — that he wanted me to get right out and find out why my engines did n't steam and haul his trains up the hills, and that if I did n't, or could n't, he would find some one who would and could."

And yet "they liked him all the better for it."

One more illustration of the hard work put upon him must be given. In no other way shall we quite realize the real sources of his growing strength. In June, 1891, when he was twenty-six years of age, he was made General Manager of the Flint and Père Marquette Railroad in Michigan. There is no more authoritative opinion of this situation than that of Mr. Crapo, who gives this account: —

"The responsibilities for all matters pertaining to the road in Michigan rested upon Mr. Baldwin.

"The F. & P. M. R. R., during the period of Mr. Baldwin's management, operated about 630 miles across the state of Michigan, with termini at Detroit, Port Huron, Monroe, Ludington, and Manistee, and a fleet of five steamers on Lake Michigan made Milwaukee, Wis., an important point. . . .

"When Mr. Baldwin came to us the affairs of the company were discouraging in the extreme. The F. & P. M. R. R. had originally opened up an unsettled forest country. It developed a splendid lumber and forest product traffic, and prospered in the handling of it. But the zenith of this traffic was reached in 1887, and the decline and elimination was thereafter rapid.

Large decreases in earnings had to be faced yearly, the owners were dismayed, and the investing public had little confidence in the Company's future. Mr. Baldwin took hold of this difficult proposition with characteristic energy and enthusiasm.

"His qualifications for leadership were at once acknowledged by all connected with the road. Mr. Baldwin possessed the gift of quickly captivating those with whom he came in contact. . . .

"He quickly made radical changes in the traffic, the operating, the purchasing, the maintenance of ways, the mechanical and the legal departments.

"It was support like this that enabled the F. & P. M. R. R. almost alone of the smaller railroads in Michigan to escape a receivership in the bad times which were then upon the railroads. . . .

"The fact that a condition had been sanctioned by time, did not deter Mr. Baldwin from attacking and changing it, if its operation was unjust. A radical increase in the rates on the very large tonnage of salt moved by the F. & P. M. steamers lost the Company the traffic for a year, but the wisdom of Mr. Baldwin's move was proved when the Salt Association next year conceded his point. The most notable of Mr. Baldwin's traffic victories was the obtaining for the road a greater share of the earnings on east bound business. That he was to secure, practically simultaneous consent of such men as John Newell, President of the Lake Shore; Chauncey M. Depew, President

of the New York Central; H. B. Ledyard, President of the Michigan Central; and Sir Joseph Hixon, of the Grand Trunk Railway, to a radical change which they were reluctant in the extreme to grant, showed even at this stage of his career the greatness of the persuasive force possessed by him which enabled him to attempt and accomplish so many intricate and seemingly impossible negotiations."

These were his problems when he was twenty-seven years of age. It was here that the evils of an irresponsible railroad competition made upon him their deepest impression. With the map of Michigan constantly before him, he gathered evidence with which he hoped to convince the management of competing roads that some larger, common plan could be devised under which the entire interests of the state could be far better served. President William W. Crapo later spoke of this plan as follows: —

"Among other things he suggested the merger of the Flint and Père Marquette, the Chicago and West Michigan, and the Detroit, Grand Rapids and Western railroads, into one corporation and under one management. His plan and the reasons in favor of its adoption were presented by him to the respective Boards of Directors. It did not at the time meet with favor, but later when Mr. Baldwin was President of the Long Island Railroad, the wisdom of the merger became apparent to the directors of the Michigan

roads, and Mr. Baldwin was asked by the directors of the several roads to formulate the terms just to all parties upon which the consolidation could be effected. This he did, and so eminently fair and just to all parties were his valuations and allotments in the consolidated Company that his findings were accepted without criticism or amendment."

It was in this period that a great joy came to him in his marriage (Oct. 30, 1889) to Ruth Standish, daughter of Samuel Bowles, founder and editor of the "Springfield Daily Republican."[1]

These three years' experience in Michigan before he goes to the practical management of the Southern Railroad is noted at much length because it stands fairly for his spirit and his achievement in every position he was called to fill. Yet side by side with these knotty physical and commercial problems were others which he did not neglect.

[1] Three children were the issue of this marriage: Ruth Standish, Aug. 8, 1890; Wm. Henry (3d), Sept. 17, 1891; Mary Chaffee, Feb. 19, 1896 (d. March, 1897).

VIII

MORAL TESTS

A FEW months were all that Baldwin gave to clerical routine work. He escapes so soon from "squinting over bills and figgers," that it seems an accident in his career; yet the first two years in the West are so far from trivial that few periods tell us more of the man than do these early experiences.

There is hardly a quality that ennobled his riper life which we may not see in Omaha, Butte, Leavenworth, and Saginaw, and see all the more clearly because the greater problems of politics, of race, and the social side of the corporation, had not come to him.

The moral tests were at first only the threadbare enticements of average human frailty, which every young fellow, thrown upon his own resources far from home, must meet. They are the decoys of passion, the reactionary craving for excitement after the day's work is done, and the hunger for fellowship with one's kind.

It is upon these deepest natural desires that excess and depravity most easily fall. For security against these fateful hazards, no better word of counsel was ever given than this: "Wherever you are, know as

well as you can the best women." These ennobling friendships with women of grace and intelligence were his throughout life. He possessed the fine gift of meeting women as he met men, with a simple and direct sincerity which gave to this comradeship its genuineness and charm.

It was one of Baldwin's precepts in college to see as much as possible those whom he felt to be his superiors. The enchantment which music had for him added to his moral chances. He loved the social element which music creates. With this equipment he was never in real danger from the grosser allurements. It was his own safety that he had been taught an honest reverence for womanhood. To get that reverence and to keep it, seemed to him the youth's surest safeguard.

There is, I think, no better sign of his moral fearlessness and virility, than that he was able to hold his own among ordinary men of the world and not be spoken of, or even thought of, as a "sissy." He was strong enough not to be ashamed of anything that concerned the dignity and cleanness of his own character.

Before entering college his father spoke to a little group of which the boy was one. Openly and plainly the older man dealt with these pitfalls of adolescence, about which our prudish perversions have maintained so long a shamefaced and perilous silence. "And to help you," said the father, "carry your

home and the living memory of the mother and sister with you. Keep that companionship and it will keep you."

Of maxims so simple as this, Baldwin was never ashamed. In a lively western town an engineer constantly with him wrote in reminiscence after Baldwin's death: —

"Let the youngsters who plead their 'artistic temperaments' or some other name to cover their willful weaknesses, and the older doddering moral cynics, consider the fact that in all the days and nights we were together in ——, never once came an idle moment misspent nor a suggestion of a deed not in keeping with his father's advice."

This simplicity with which he holds to his standards appears in the first practical ordering of his life in Omaha.

He resolves stoically upon the narrowest private expenditure. Out of his small salary he will save every possible penny for investment and for life insurance. This is the chance, he says, to make my little go far, — no calls upon me, no responsibilities. With no previous knowledge of him, one would look upon these first severe prudences with some doubt. They have the note of an inordinate care for small economies, as if we were witnessing the first wary steps of one bent exclusively on getting rich. He submits his meagre budget to the closest balancing and rejoices that he can do "rare stunts in frugal-

ity." There is, however, something seething in him which makes the careful husbandry very difficult. So set is he upon a full, rich, human life that its satisfactions are more to him than any hoarding.

A restaurant is chosen which gives him board at four dollars a week. His room, heating, and washing cost an extra three dollars. Very minutely he puts down income and outgo, even in trifles. He is very gay over his eating-place — but does not like it. "I had expected that we should get good beef at least, but they seem to have no idea what decent steak or roast beef is. They cut steak as thin as we cut roast beef, and then — *fry it !!!* "

Something besides the steak was thin in the régime of the restaurant. It left him hungry for society. The result of this discontent may be seen in an account written by his friend H. B. Hodges: —

"After a few months of a rather trying experience in a cheap boarding-house, Baldwin suggested to several of his friends hiring a house and running it ourselves; so six of us, all Boston men, and all connected with the Union Pacific Railway Co., went to housekeeping, Baldwin selecting the furniture and the necessary household utensils, and acting as purveyor, carver, and general head of the house, the occupants of which were humorously spoken of outside as 'the Boston Ideals.' He also officiated as Chief Cook for a few days during the illness of an old Swedish woman who was our only servant at that time.

"Baldwin's love for music led him to persuade us that no home was complete without a pianoforte; so we hired one, and it stood in the dining-room back of Baldwin's chair. Occasionally a musical idea would enter his head in the middle of a meal, and he would leave his seat and strike a few chords, turning enthusiastically to his musically rather unappreciative companions to invite them to share in the pleasure he derived from the harmonies he enticed from the keys."

In the first month at Omaha, he discovers that he must take thought if he is "to get all his energy first into his work." The least dyspeptic infirmity was unknown to him, but nothing should endanger his highest working efficiency. Sleep, diet, and diversion must have their rights, but his life and his work are something more than these. He would sleep, and he would "sleep it well out"; he would eat and he would have his play; but neither should interfere with the main business in hand. There was no trace of the prig in this. It is the ready decision of a happy and hardy purpose.

Though in the ruggedest health, he finds that the ordinary boarding-house lunch is a nuisance. At most, he can spare for it but fifteen minutes. The meats and the puddings leave him with a sense of heaviness, and an inclination to sleep when he has no business to sleep. He does not dawdle with this obstruction. He "cuts it out." The very lightest

lunch, he says, "goes," because it can be eaten properly and without haste. When the "meat and the dessert are dropped," he has a clearer head. He goes to lunch and returns with perfect leisure, soon finding himself able to write rapidly in lighter correspondence and talk business at the same time. He had been told that the best result of education was the capacity to "think of the matter before you with absolute concentration." He tries to cultivate this gift. It helps him to get "mere heaps of things" speedily out of the way.

He had heard of another such power, namely: to do the assigned job so cleanly that nothing loose, ragged, or doubtful would be left over for discussion by others when the report was sent in. Rapid pace, with standards like these, requires a mind and body in the very height of condition.

On his first Saturday, he was at his desk three hours after the usual closing time. He soon got the name of a "terrible over-timer." In the chapter on "Labor and Capital" we shall observe one of his happiest distinctions. Because he is the "terrible over-timer" he does not strut and put on airs before his working men if they hesitate to do over-time. Never once shall we see him inflated with phrases about the long hours that *he* works, as if that were a good and sufficient reason why the men on the train and in the shop should rejoice to imitate his example. He had shrewdness, sympathy, and humor enough to

see certain very important motives for his own long hours; motives which did not necessarily hold good in the case of ordinary industrial wage-earners.

It is in this general spirit that his first simple routine responsibilities are met. None of the economical rigidities ever pen him in. He bursts out into most extravagant disregard of all his small and thrifty regulations. He is caught paying a woman fifty cents for a meal for which only twenty-five cents was asked. It was very scandalous for one of such penny-wise pretensions. He is taken to task for it, but defends himself on the unexpected ground that a hard-worked woman had no business to sell so good a meal as that for any such price as twenty-five cents. It thus appeared that this offense was not the first.

He is even discovered giving away money in case of dire want, so that a close companion of those days could say: "I honestly believe he would have given his last dollar to a really needy person."

These inconsistencies and shortcomings he never outgrows. They are scattered with uncalculating profusion throughout his remaining score of crowded years.

All his fine purposes to "save every cent" are thwarted by the same motive that prompted him to pay over-price to a tired woman for a service which he felt to be too cheap. This motive led him to break many a conventional rule around which our human selfishness has built up a whole casuistry of economic

and even moral defense. The "survival of the fittest," "free competition," "supply and demand," — all the consecrated ritual of a fighting industrial tradition finds Baldwin at best but a half-hearted worshiper and not infrequently an impatient mocker.

It is this restlessness under the yoke of worldly prudence that brings upon him the most frequent criticism. It is a criticism that cannot be ignored because it has some truth in it. In that shading and balance through which the truth is most nearly approached, what is to be said of this stricture? Is an impatient ardor toward beneficence a weakness or a strength? Was Baldwin more or less of a man because he was a little headstrong in doing good?

The only answer must be that given by the finished story here told. Men of one type will pronounce him rash, those of another will love him better and believe in him the more, because he could not brook the circumspection and delays in men of more cautious mould.

Another characteristic, not wholly separable from the above, was a supposed over-readiness to believe in men. "Credulity" is the least flattering name given to it. There is the same truth in this as in the other. I heard a man eminent for business shrewdness say, "How can Baldwin believe in people as he does? I should think it would spoil him as a business man." Some losses undoubtedly fell to him because he believed too easily and too much in certain men.

Yet these losses were his own. They never fell to his corporation or to other men.

He refused now and then to take warnings given him against persons who proved less worthy than he thought. Where "business is business" this is a grave defect. But if our social destiny has more spacious outlook, even than that of business, it may be that a generous and willing faith in one's fellow men has its own unpriced values. He, at any rate, had this confidence in his humankind. It sometimes misled him, but it often served him like an added sagacity. He gave what was believed to be a reckless exhibition of "credulity" in the most ominous strike he met, but his faith was well placed. At a moment of fierce rivalry over traffic with another railroad, he showed it by going alone, without an attorney, to face successfully the skilled legal advisers of the competing road. In a case as simple and just as this, he said, "I will have no legal haggling. I will state the matter plainly and it will be believed."

If he was over-trustful, the root of it was in his own high-mindedness and in his native disinclination to think ill of men. This, at least, is not a mean possession.

Every ultimate view upon railway policy and regulation to which he came, rested absolutely upon the conviction that the people can be trusted to stand by any road which honestly deserves their confidence, *if they have the facts truthfully put before them.*

This trust in the "dear people" has such obvious and dangerous limitations that they need no comment. It raises the deepest of all questions concerning democracies. So far as the people can be trusted, so far, but no further, is there hope for genuine democracy. Baldwin had his reply to the prevailing cynicism on this ancient theme. It was, in a word, that the people had been for the most part tricked both by the business and by the political powers.

In Baldwin's view, it was the first duty, as it was first-rate intelligence, for the business director in the new century to treat the people with so much straight-out honesty and openness that they *could* be trusted. The very condition of confiding in the people was that "you yourself should first deserve respect."

The New York merchant, Robert C. Ogden, said "democratic idealism" was Baldwin's gift and chief characteristic. The felicity of the phrase is in its precision and truth. Democratic idealism was his political faith, and in a sense it was his religion.

In admitting thus that he was a little headstrong and occasionally over-trustful, we are surely recording something that was not mere weakness. In their large human and social relations these two traits stand greatly to the credit of a rich and generous manhood. They stand for this superiority even though in some narrower field of tactics or commercial bargaining they prove a handicap.

Somewhat early in the story and not quite in the fitting place, these things have to be written down. The soul of the man is as transparent in this first testing of his powers as we shall ever see it in later days. All that imparts moral dignity to his life appears at once in slight and common incidents, from the first week of active duty in what was then a raw western town.

His moral problems at this time were of the simplest. They gave him neither doubts nor morbid introspection. His happiness was as robust as it was confident and contagious In one of his letters he says he is "half ashamed that mere existence is a pleasure." This rare gift never left him, though as his problem slowly changed his "democratic idealism" was roughly challenged.

Such proofs of mastery as his life has to offer, we shall see more clearly in the light of ideals already revealed in his struggle to choose the right vocation.

IX

MONEY-MAKING AND ETHICS

Such instruction as Baldwin's life has for us lies mainly in this, that he goes to business with very definite ideals. He knows what he means by personal honor and integrity. He knows what he means by honesty as applied to huckstering in the market. He goes with the sturdiest confidence that these moral standards may be held fast even in the thickest of the fight. He was in its best sense the man of the world. He was too robust for small pruderies or squeamishness. But to the hour of his death, nothing was stronger in him than these standards of a sensitively clean and honest manhood. It was these that determined the choice of his career. There was never a moment when he would have flinched from leaving business if it had been clear to him that his standards were really at stake.

There was never a moment when, in the deeper, wider currents of his mind, he was not moved by impulses greater than the acquisition of wealth; never a moment when this was not a secondary and subordinate object of his energies.

Before he was twenty-six years of age he was a railroad manager. This was happily too early for set

and prejudiced ways. He was called to one of his most difficult posts because he was "too young to have hard-and-fast ideas."

He began work, moreover, at an auspicious time for his own enlightenment on the momentous economic and social issues. The last years of the nineteenth century were aflame with new interest and shaken by changes in the basis of social and economic opinion. It was in his own field of the railroad that this shifting of thought reached its climax. It was in the whirl of these new currents that Baldwin received his discipline and learned his lessons.

From the first he was proud of being a railroad man. There was no misgiving that he had chosen wisely and well. So tenacious was he to stand by the railroad that repeated calls into other fields did not even seriously tempt him, although two of these offers, with much larger salary, would have given him far greater security and much lighter work.

He was unmoved, because "railroad development," he says, "opens up more chances than *any* man can meet, and nothing shall induce me to switch off."

In this chosen sphere, he was to try out his ideals. He writes home from Kansas precisely what his new duties are: He has to get "freight and passenger business; to superintend building and repairs of bridges and trucks" over several hundred miles of road. He is responsible for the engines and cars, and has to hire and discharge men. In a later letter he says that

he is letting no details escape him, "as now is my golden opportunity to learn how all departments are run."

In the getting of new business, especially in filling his freight cars, he meets the familiar spectre of petty briberies. He finds his rivals distributing "favors" to those who have it in their power to decide where freight shall go. He learns that these men are often "shown the town" by his competitors; that he too is expected to make provision even for the display of dreary vices at expensive rates. With bald effrontery these practices have been such a part of the competitive system as to rank among the commonplace necessities of business enterprise. They have taken innumerable shapes, from mere "seeing the town" with charged-up revelries in local dives, to the politer forms of gift and entertainment which soften and conceal the bribe through flattering indirection.

In a Montana mining centre in 1888, it was not the custom to hesitate at trifles such as these. Yet he wrote to one of his most trusted friends from Butte (when he was division freight agent there), of his year's work: —

"When I came to Butte, I had the toughest job to tackle on the U. P. — as railroad men said, an unenviable position. I was told that I would have to be a champion liar and become a veritable 'bum' in order to secure any business. I gave orders at once, however, that all business from my office must be

done on an honorable basis, and that any statement made must be the truth. I decided to work the opposite of the game played by many of my competitors, and have business men feel that honor and fair treatment were our motto.

"We have had everything to contend with, and at times I have felt discouraged on account of our physical inability to compete with certain competitors in any of the advantages which a railroad should offer. We had almost no friends, and the bitterest opposition, and it has been the worst up-hill work."

He is able to write later that his methods have "worked," and he has the proof that success is possible without any selling of souls.

Again he writes to his friend Nutter, with still more rugged faith: —

"I am not a sentimentalist, quite the opposite as you know; but every day makes me more and more convinced that I can carry out my ideals which grew out of my life with you and a few of our common friends."

His fibre was to undergo a far heavier strain than any of these temptations now impose upon him. But years intervene in which in quite other ways he is "saving one ideal by holding to another." His purpose to help his family has lost none of its eagerness. The two years have made it possible to talk to the point. After a financial reckoning, he writes his father: —

My dear Father,—

Yours of the 7th at hand. I shall not listen to you in your demand to send Robert through college entirely at your own expense. I hope to be well fixed financially by next fall, and if I am I must help you out. It seems to me that there is no hour in the day that I do not think of the family and figure on my prospects of being in a position to do something of practical worth for them. . . . I think I appreciate as keenly as anybody how much you have on your hands, and you can count on me if anything happens at your end of the line.

This is but one of several, but the father is very "stuffy" and in a letter jolly with grateful affection refuses point-blank to take a cent of the boy's money. The son is the more in earnest because he has done his best to induce a younger brother to go to college, with promises to help.

The letter tells so much of the writer when he was twenty-three years old that it is given in full.

Omaha, Neb.
Sunday, Mch. 14, '86.

My dear Robert,—

. . . Mother writes me that your reports from school are not good. Well, that may mean a good deal, or it may mean very little. I hope it will prove to mean very little. Most boys have a time when they get behindhand in their work, and get discour-

aged and see no good in studying, etc., etc. That is a most natural thing, especially with one who has not naturally a decided love for study. I am sure that there is not one boy in twenty who really loves study for study's sake. That is most natural, for how is a boy of your age, full of spirit, and eager for sports and pleasure of all sort, to realize the advantage to be derived from a study of the rudiments of Greek and Latin, and Algebra and Roman History? There are very few who do realize it, and the others must work on faith from the experience of their parents and friends.

You may think that your study of classics is doing you no good. I admit that there are many other studies which I think of much more advantage, but the studies which you are pursuing will be of inestimable worth to you as a means of training, and of especial worth as a necessary, well-worn path to College. It may be of some consolation to you to know that I took very little interest in my studies at the Roxbury Latin School, and did not at all realize the benefits which could be acquired from a College education. You see I knew no one intimately who had been to College, and I had never seen intimately the advantages of such an education. Now I wish to tell you in a few words the advantages which I think one who takes College in the right way, can acquire.

In the first place, one has a chance to get well founded in various branches of study which in all

probability he would never touch or understand at all, unless he first has his mind *opened* to them in some such atmosphere as that of Cambridge. I shall never forget when I first heard of the story which Geology teaches. I thought I would take Natural History IV (a half-course) just to hear Prof. Shaler, but it proved to be a "New heavens and a new earth." I was bewildered at the *new ideas*, the new world, the new *life* I was living after that. I say new *life*, because really the best life we can possibly enjoy is that of *ideas*. . . .

Well, the ideas which I got from Prof. Shaler led me to many other inquiries, and no one thing can ever happen to me so fortunately from an intellectual point of view, as happened when I took N. H. IV. It opened up a train of thought which the mind can feed on always. That one subject influenced me more in my ideas of philosophy, religion and life in general than anything else. . . . Now you know just as well as I that I am naturally no student, and often Mother would tell me (when in R. L. S.) to go to work, as I was not studying and would never be a student. I finally went to College, and aimed only at acquiring a taste for study. I did not expect to learn a great amount there, but I did aim to associate with fellows who were my superiors intellectually, and to pick out the best broad-minded instructors, so that I could *learn* to study.

You know that I did a great deal besides study

when in College, and had a rationally good time there. You know I started also with the same inheritance you have, and I tell you in all humbleness of spirit, that I did acquire advantages there which I would not give up for anything.

You must excuse me for speaking of myself, but it is necessary for you to see plainly and in detail, the advantages one can get from such a training.

I do not mean to say that you will never know anything if you do not go to College. Many men who never saw a College, are as finely educated as College-bred men, but they are very few and far between, and are naturally desirous of studying. But look about you and see the countless hosts of those who have never been to College or have not had strong incentive to study. Many of them are successful in business and make lots of money, but I assure you that a life devoted to getting money without the accompaniment of some intellectual pursuit is very . . . unprofitable. A man does not get a fractional part of the pleasure of life, if he devotes himself merely to the physical pleasures. The animal nature of man is almost always the strongest, and it says "eat, drink and be merry," but such an ideal is too shallow for you to think of.

If I were sure that you would spend your time, to a reasonable extent, in study in the future, I would not urge you so strongly to go to College, but

I think you need an experience such as Cambridge gives, to lead you on.

There is no more pitiful spectacle than the man who has earned a fortune, and then cannot retire from business because he does not know what to do with himself. Avoid such a condition if possible.

I would not have you become one of these "long-haired grinds," for they are never the men who make the world go, except in a few instances. Their natures are warped by over doing one side of it. A well-balanced nature is the thing to strive after.

. . . You must also bear in mind that the business of the future tends to be carried on by large corporations and everybody will not have a trained mind to look after these large trusts. The ordinary man is nowhere when such a business is entered, and a man who can see on more sides than one is the one needed for the future business man.

The expense of going, I know must trouble you, but I assure you that the greatest pleasure I could have in the world would be to help give one of my brothers some of the real pleasure that I received while at Cambridge, and the new life which I shall always live, no matter how successful or unsuccessful I may be in material things. I have been looking forward to helping as much as I can both you and Dick through College, and by the time you would reach there, I shall be in a position to pay all necessary expenses.

Your first impulse may be to refuse any such aid, but I assure you that it would be my pleasure, and that it would be a small amount of money invested in the best possible manner. Now I hope you will think over all these things very carefully before you decide to give up College and go into the High School. Do not be discouraged just because you cannot do so well in Greek and Latin as some other boys. When you have a choice of studies it is not like your present studying, then you will study just what pleases you most, and you cannot help getting much interested in some course of study.

Think it all over, and don't answer my letter for a few weeks, until you have thought it all out. You are old enough to decide somewhat for yourself, after all the arguments are before you. You know the arguments on one side, look carefully at mine and decide.

Most sincerely,

Your brother,

BILL.

X

METHOD OF APPROACH

In no instance did he go out to look up a "cause." He stumbled upon it. He did not, after reflection, set forth to found a society for the protection of dumb animals. He saw an overloaded horse quivering under the blows of its driver and he instantly interfered. It was in a western community, where such interference was not popular among teamsters. It was altogether a new idea twenty-five years ago in Nebraska, that the casual man on the sidewalk had any jurisdiction over a stranger in charge of his own team. This well-known fact made most people prudent, and the usual cruelties went on. One who was with Baldwin says he shot into the street as though he had been propelled by an instrument.

When the incident is passed he began to reflect upon it and founded a local society for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

His interest in the poorer quarters of New York had the same origin. His attention was caught by incidents as he hurried down a crowded thoroughfare. He watched the life there and began to ask questions. The mental picture did not leave him. He gathered his own private collection, and some of

them burned into him until he suffered from their presence.

The life of the workingman's family in congested tenements had already become one of these disturbing pictures when, in 1899, the rumor came to his ears of a still darker peril for these crowded tenants. It was more than the peril for the tenement child upon the street. It was the workingman's house turned to the uses of prostitution.

He had only the current views about the evils of intemperance until the spectre met him on his own railroad. He saw how the saloon followed the men. As the centres of work and construction shifted from point to point he saw the liquor-seller and his bar entrenched almost before the men were on the spot. He watched the men pour in and out of these haunts and was at first chiefly concerned with their money losses.

As he inspects these places along the road, he sees for the first time what a variety of wants the saloon supplies; some of them most indispensable and legitimate. If it satisfies the thirst for strong drink; if it turns the sport instinct into the habits of the gambler; if, in the larger towns, the saloon is the natural home of the criminal and an annex to the brothel, it is also the one really attractive resting-place for a large proportion of workingmen in their leisure and off-time. It is the one place to satisfy the commonest cravings of average men with few resources. It is often the cheapest place for a bit of

lunch. It has the atmosphere of easy *camaraderie* and good-fellowship. Every fascination which club-life offers is furnished with fatal ingenuity by the saloon. It is club, reading-room, lunch-counter, bank, picture-gallery, sporting centre, where ordinary social instincts are fed.

All these things Baldwin saw with understanding sympathy and yet with cool judgment as to the deadly side of the institution. He knew its desolating havoc would go on to the end of time, until something replaced it which had attractive power enough to meet certain social and physical needs.

One conversation I had with him when this special difficulty was uppermost in his mind. His one question was for *substitutes* for the service which the saloon, as he saw it, actually met among his own men. He had examined carefully the work of the Young Men's Christian Association. He was strong in praise of what this body had done for railroad men. For those whom it actually reached, the Association met the want; but for the vast number who held aloof, and for the many places on new railway lines with no promise of such organizations, his problem was unsolved.

He could not wait for Young Men's Christian Associations. He could not, even when they existed, believe that any large majority of the men could be freed from the ruin which the saloon wrought.

His scheme, as I heard it from him, was to do constructively for the men all that was practically possible for the railroad, and *after* that, to subject the men to strictest orders about drink while on duty. All the men he could reach should have a chance at his libraries. He would scatter them at the right points and select the books with the help of the men themselves. He showed me an admirable list of volumes upon which he had spent much time and taken the widest counsel. He found the Christian Association so excellent in its whole practical efficiency, that (though himself Unitarian) he urged the men to the fullest use of its advantages. But many of the most important centres along the Union Pacific had no Y. M. C. A. In these places he must do his own original work.

It was in the midst of this planning, that I saw him once on a return trip from the West. With great pains he had worked out a constitution and by-laws. He was eager for information on the kind of literature that his men would actually read. After a list of more technical volumes on engineering, road-making, and the like, his plan was to get in the largest possible number of books on social and economic topics that the men could be induced to read. Fiction, travel, adventure, especially on western life, were to have ample space. The final printed catalogue is a selection so painstaking and so admirable as to be a model.

In hearing him talk of this plan, and of lectures "to stimulate night-reading," which he hoped to make a part of the general scheme, one would have thought this the one absorbing concern of his life. He writes Mr. George R. Nutter in the autumn of 1886: —

"Foremost has been the library question. I have interviewed the Gen'l Manager and the Gen'l Sup't on the subject, and the latter's interest especially makes me feel assured of the success of the scheme. I submitted my plan of organization to him and he accepts it as agreeing with his own ideas. A most fortunate beginning. He enters right into the idea of making the libraries more than mere depositories for books, and seconds the idea that the all-important point is to keep up an interest by lectures, entertainments, etc. The engineer has drawn plans for special buildings for the U. P. libraries, and so we shall have a *standard* library building.

"Mr. Adams has sent me a new lot of books on labor questions, and I have been putting in time on those. For the last week I have passed much time in writing up the history of a strike in May, 1884, and certain questions connected with it. It is on my desk now and ready for mail to Mr. A., who is now on his way West (to Denver)."

Again he writes to Mr. Nutter from a town in Colorado in the spring of 1887: —

"I said to myself, I will wait until I have my first

monthly report, so that I can show by figures that the plan is successful. My first report came from Como about a week ago, and so now I am well primed to give you a taste of Western culture. . . .

"There are about 130 men living here. They are shop-men, engineers and firemen and section-hands. Their houses are one-roomed shanties. Their church, Town Hall, dance-hall, reading-rooms, etc., etc., are three saloons. If a man wished to write a letter, meet friends, read, eat, drink or be merry, he went to the only places which gave him the opportunity — the saloons. . . .

"I struck the town at 4 o'clock one morning, with the wind blowing a hurricane, and the thermometer frozen. It was a *desolate* looking place, but just the kind of place needing one of the Library Associations.

"I put on a flannel shirt and went to work. My principal duty was to make myself one of the men, and to get acquainted with them. If any religious or dudish person had appeared on the scene, it would have been impossible to awaken any interest in the scheme. I soon knew most all the men, and meanwhile got the building and books in readiness.

"The librarian I found at the Denver U. P. hospital. He was a very clever fellow who had lost his leg by getting between two freight cars at the wrong time. He came soon after I got there, and was easily initiated into the duties of his office.

". . . I was astonished to find what an intelligent

lot of men they were. Some of the engineers had educated themselves far better than half the Harvard graduates have been educated. There were many who had seen better days, but had been knocked out with bad rum. . . . I made solid friends amongst them. I found one man who was an enigma.

"I had a half-dozen section hands carry the books over to our building from the station. One of them was a bleary, bloodshot-eyed old chap, who looked as if he had been drunk all his life, and had slept alternately in the gutter and on the floor of some saloon.

"When I opened the boxes and took out the books his eyes glistened with a new light. He seemed to know Shakespeare by heart! Burns, Thackeray, Walter Scott, Byron, and a dozen others were criticised by him. 'Bobby Burns,' or 'Dear old Bobby' as he called him, was highly praised, and he repeated verse after verse in the Scotch dialect. I was astonished, to say the least.

"The men were delighted with the library and called it a God-send for them. My report will show you that they appreciated it.

". . . Of course the primary idea is to make the library the loafing-room and headquarters for the men, so that they will have some place to go in the evenings and not have to patronize saloons." [1]

[1] His booklet was printed in November, 1886, by Klopp & Bartlett in Omaha, *Catalogue, Constitution and By-Laws of the U. P. R. Employers' Library Association.*

There was no over-credulity as to what these libraries would accomplish. He understood that, after all the substitutes could do, his chief difficulty would remain with the main mass of the men who would be careless of these moral and intellectual dainties. "But I am determined," he said, "that the road shall do all that it *can* do, to meet the social wants of those willing to meet us half-way. After we have done that, it is perfectly fair to issue strict orders about that part of the drinking which we are able to control and have any right to control." [1]

With this practical caution he approached every social problem with which he dealt.

He never for a moment makes the mistake of assuming that he is going to stop all drinking among his men. With the best of sense, he was trying to mark off that part of the evil which he thought it possible to reach. "Just where can I put that target and hit it?" "If the men are ordered not to drink," he said, "they will merely indulge in a little extra profanity at our expense." He was frank to say that

[1] Of his own reading he at this time adds: "You wrote that you have been indulging freely in Emerson. I myself pick up one of his books every day or two, and find that nothing takes his place. I keep his essays 'Society and Solitude,' and 'Conduct of Life' on my desk here.

"I have just read 'Marius' again — and Marcus Aurelius should be rebound. The little time I have to read I devote to those books which I have read before. . . . I have read nothing new this winter, barring a few railroad books. My choice little library satisfies my cravings and I shall stick to it."

he himself would not take such an order from any man. But if the men saw the railroad doing its best to put something in the place of the saloon, and if they could be shown that certain kinds of drinking, and drinking at certain times, were a direct injury to the railroad service, would they not respond to that sort of order? He felt very confident about this. He was further confident, that to get the sympathy of the larger body of the best men would make it easy to discharge those who were known to drink in violation of the rules.

As in every such issue, he insisted that the men should know to the uttermost what the reasons were, and that they should have a perfectly fair chance to consider them. "I tell you, the fellows will stand by you if your cause is straight and you take pains to explain your reasons," was a statement into which he put all his explosive fervor.

The reasons on which he depended in this case were those which the men could easily see and judge for themselves. They were, first, the obvious dangers to which the public and trainmen alike were exposed by drinking while on service — by every haphazard excess in drink among brakemen, switchmen, engineers, firemen. The other grounds upon which he counted were less easily shown to the men, but he was sure of their coöperation, with the proofs which he felt could now be placed before them.

All this has become the merest commonplace of

railroad management, but it was not a commonplace at the time and place when it was Baldwin's problem. Its place here, however, is to show his manner of approach in these questions; to get at the attainable result of improved discipline and order.

He had charted certain observations on the saloon influence among the men. They dropped in for a drink, or to treat each other during working hours. They took away a pint bottle of whiskey to use as they liked on the train, along the track or in the shops. Every now and then it brought mischief, a quarrel, a blunder, slovenly work, and always the possibility of something far worse. It was out of phenomena like these that his case was made. It gave him a mass of evidence which he believed any decent man on the road would acknowledge to be plain common sense. If the management ordered the man *while on duty* not to drink, not to carry whiskey, not to visit saloons, he felt that the bulk of the men and the best of them would stand by the order.

One who had a lifelong business acquaintance with him is elsewhere quoted as saying that Baldwin's skill was in his habit of looking at once for the weakest point in the job before him, and "to go for that."

The weak point in this issue of the saloon, as related to his men, was the danger of asking too much of them; of asking what would justify them in answering, "Whether I drink or not is my business,

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not yours." It was the danger of requiring so much as to lose the coöperative response of the men. It was the same danger that met him in every strike he had to face. If he feels that it is *his* problem, and that he is to settle it, it does not occur to him that he is to settle it alone. There must be a common conviction and common understanding. There must be explanation enough to convince average men.

Of any obstacle that arises between him and his men, he seems to say: "Here it is, let us face it and see how all of us together can get it out of the way. We won't be sentimental about it. We'll have no fooling. But we won't lie to each other or play any sharp game in order to make points. We will treat each other openly and above board as rational human beings." He neither talks down to the men nor flatters them. His behavior is that of one standing erect upon a common human level with those whose interests he recognizes as not separate from his own.

This becomes his working rule. We shall next see him applying it to the larger problems of the railroad. He there insists that the public shall have the same recognition which he gives his own men. He tries to win and to deserve the general confidence.

In later chapters, it is this "Method of Approach" which serves him and his road as admirably as it serves the public.

XI

RAILROAD PHILOSOPHY

I

From the first day in the office in 1886, Baldwin was a railroad man. In lectures to students thirteen years later, on "Railways and the Public," he was careful to disclaim any all-round competence on everything that his subject implied. With accounting, with traffic, freights, and the actual operating of roads, he had solid and continuous experience. The greater problems, combinations, pooling, and methods of public control, he had studied enough to form opinions which he was willing to defend. In this business atmosphere he thinks and acts. It is here that he slowly learns the *social* character of these corporations and their consequent public responsibility. It is this steadying toil which disciplines his idealism and at the same time strengthens it.

For the kind of authoritative discretion which he won, no education could have served him better.

Because there had been hundreds of fatuous and annoying laws against the railroads, he did not ask to be let alone, nor did he rail like a shrew against bodies like the Interstate Commerce Commission. Even the silliest and most vexatious statutes stimulated him to

ask, "Why do farmers and the public often show such venom against the railroads?" The people of the country who use the roads know better than anybody what enormous advantages they get from these corporations, and yet these chronic outbursts succeed each other in every part of the country. They break out among the most peaceable and hardest-worked portion of our population — the farmers, though this is the class most dependent upon transportation. "In every row you get into," he once said, "ask first and answer it if you can, 'Am *I* in any way at fault in this?'" He applies this to the more general situation: "What fires have the railroads started, to choke the air with all this smoke?" His conclusion was confidently and candidly spoken that the railroads were themselves chiefly to blame. They had too uniformly flouted the public interest. In their haste for quick speculative returns, they had ridden roughshod over recognized public privileges.

This did not come to him at once. He began by preaching lustily that doctrine dear to the capitalistic heart: "the identity of interests between employer and employed." Baldwin continued to use and to believe in the "identities" between master and man. But he early learned the larger truth, that interests between the management and the laborer are one and the same only as both sides honestly try to *make* them the same. This harmony does not come of itself, nor is it to be taken for granted. All

the truth it holds has to be created by honorable purpose and good will. Baldwin first employed the words just as he employed "supply and demand," evidently thinking of them as something external and inevitable. As actual trouble arose which put the phrases on trial, he found that the truth in them was not a thing separate from his own behavior. When first threatened with a strike, one of his letters has a passage about interests that relate alike to the corporation and to the men, but we see him trying with extraordinary candor to *prove* it to the workers.

He learned that *few* half-truths in economics have done dirtier work than this "identity of interest." I have known a western mine-operator who for years paid above eighty per cent of his wages out of truck-stores. He told me that he made money enough, so that he did well even if there was no profit from the mines. Were his interests as employer identical with those of his men? Wherever there is exploitation, abused monopoly, unfair bargaining, or cunning and successful advantage of strength over weakness, this pleasing formula is a mockery.

We see Baldwin straining every nerve actually to unify these common advantages; actually to make the interests of the wage-earner, the public, and the railroad one and the same. A brilliant illustration of this, when he was manager of the Southern Railroad, will be given later.

It will appear, too, that if his whole working the-

ory of the transportation function were realized, "identity of interests" would be nobly true. He came to think of the railroad as having one final justification, — namely, the development of business in the communities through which it passed. It was there to make life easier to the farmer. It was there to cheapen products to the consumer. It was there to assist in the distribution of congested city populations. The suffocating life on the densely packed areas in New York City instantly appealed to him as he took in hand the Long Island system. To no task did he give more anxious thought than to the service which the road might render in lessening the awful pressure. He knew what the tragedy of high and ever higher rents means in the life of the poor. He listened to the story of the rent-collector, and familiarized himself with the work of the Tenement House Commission. Whatever other and more radical remedies the future may have in store, he felt that to relieve this cramped and stifling condition was an immediate good for those who were taken to the country, as it was for those who remained. In the adjacent territory along his line, he studied every spot with this end in view. "How can thousands of the class able to afford it, be taken out by low rates and be housed in health and comfort?"

He was even criticised for "thinking of his glutted humanity" more anxiously than of the immediate paying traffic of the road. Probably better than the

critic, he knew that for any large success his plan must also be made a paying proposition. In his large and long-run view, as with the best tenement-house work, this human service would pay fair returns. In this kind of "identity of interests" he believed. It is an "identity" that includes not only the employer and employed, but expressly and consciously includes the public as well.

In every responsible position he held, this enlargement and growth of the business occupied him. It was this which made him live a laborer's life upon the train. A railroad man much with him says that Baldwin traveled above five thousand miles a month. He wished not merely to know the exact state of the road throughout its entire extent, but to know as well every possibility of the farm, the mill, the mine, and general trade. He believed that no manager could do this properly from an office.

Lest this high policy strike the reader as a little too near perfection for actual business life, I have submitted it to Mr. H. W. Atkinson of Atlanta. As a lifelong friend of Baldwin, and as a business man of large and successful experience, he says: —

"You cannot put that too strongly. His whole idea of the railroad was to develop it in the interest of everybody along the route. Its prosperity was to be the *common* prosperity. Baldwin not only held that as a theory, but he acted upon it practically. No one knew his business life more intimately than I.

It is strictly true of him that his idealism modified profoundly the actual work and plans of his daily activity. He was the best man I ever knew."

II

If this spirit had controlled railroad management in this country, what a world of trouble would have been saved! The gain would have been as great to these public carriers as to the people at large.

The distinction at this point is vital. Is our great industrial machinery to be guided by those whose exclusive and final purpose is the rapid accumulation of private fortunes, or is this motive to be modified? Is the governing purpose to be that of the speculator in manipulated values, or is it to be the substantial and enduring prosperity of the neighborhood? Is the initial direction to be with those who think of transportation in terms of the stock exchange, or with those who extend and build up a valid and prosperous business on their lines?

As between these two, Baldwin's position is clear. "I want freight and I want passengers. I want business," he says, "that shall benefit consumers, shippers, and the road together." It was easy to put this aim into words, but profoundly difficult to give it constructive result. Those watching solely for speculative gains were always at hand, and always powerful. Or it was the legislative heeler, eager to embarrass the road by some scheme of blackmailing. There

was resolute tussling with both of these types, but never a final doubt, on the part of his adversary, where Baldwin stood.

With stubborn valor he took the position that all business *necessary to be done*, can be done without baseness. It can be done without low trickeries and without organizing injury against one's fellow men. It is a view which restores again the dignities of older economic theory: that commerce and industry are in their nature socially productive; *i. e.* they add values all round. Unless perverted and abused, they do not enrich one man by robbing another. Gambling may do this, and fraud may do it, but not business properly carried on.

His way was often among heavy shadows, because of the complexity of interests and motives involved.

The first business conviction which western experience deepened in him was the necessity of combination. Criticism against such combination was at its height all about him. What would become of "free competition," the critics asked, if railways were permitted to act together and with a united purpose? Baldwin knew that this fear was natural because of insolent tyrannies that railways had so often practiced against the people. If these roads were united and still tyrannous, the people would but suffer the more. His escape from the dilemma was through his confidence that this tyranny was unnecessary and would have an end; that the day

was at hand when the railroad leadership, together with a properly instructed public opinion, would make this enginery of transportation "a *servant* and not a *master* of the people." But it could not be made a servant without combination.

As population thickened and business grew apace, the separated systems could not do their work. "They could serve the locality, but not the nation." The best use of the fifty-ton car; the rapid long haul, with low freights and quick delivery, were blocked unless the various roads could act with common purpose and under common plans. Unity was possible only through admitted combination.

I find reflections in his notes in the following order.[1] To consolidate these roads would give *simplicity* to the entire service. It would make possible many *economies*. It would enable *higher wages* to be paid and at the same time *lower the costs* of traffic to the public. He knew that all these genial assurances were the verbal stock-in-trade of the average trust-promoter. He knew how many of these showy schemes had done everything *except* simplify, economize, pay more wages, and lower the cost of its product. He classed this kind of "promoting" among the piracies of our generation. He saw that so much of

[1] He was asked by Professor J. W. Jenks to give a course of eight lectures to the students at Cornell University. Seven of these were given. From the remaining manuscript and notes, the opinions here expressed are chiefly taken.

it had been done, and done through such flaunting and universal advertising, that the people had been roused against combination as such.

This hostility appeared with most specific intent against "pooling." Baldwin said that "pools" were no better than the men who made them; that greed and cunning could easily put them to mean and narrow uses. But he saw, too, that the pool in some sense was a necessity. Proper organization of transportation was impossible without a "pooling of interests." He not only held that free competition was at an end in this transportation, but was now creating a new order of evils.[1]

The pool attempts, through agreement among rival lines, so to apportion the tonnage or earnings of competitive lines as to meet these difficulties.

In preliminary notes to a lecture, he says: "A legalized pool, or division of traffic, will make stable rates, stable conditions for markets; and the natural laws of competition between markets and individuals will produce a healthy business relation between persons and communities.

"Unrestricted competition between railroads is an absurdity, and, except to the favored, is a curse. Unrestricted competition is nothing more nor less than unlimited discrimination. Stability of rates is the first essential.

[1] First Lecture for Cornell students.

"Furthermore, the stable rates will permit the carrier to earn his reasonable legal rate, and with the profit, if any, improve the facilities and thus give better service and lower rates."

The importance of his view cannot be seen apart from some of these dull details, but even they light up with some interest if seen as part of his growing outlook. He wanted nothing less than a unified system of lines, regulated; but regulated absolutely *in the public interest.* It is a bold logic and carries us far.

He explained to his student audience that, if he dealt only with the statistical and business phases of transportation, he should leave out, in his own words, "the soul of the subject." What is this "soul of the subject"? It is the relation which the railroad system bears to *the welfare of the nation.* After the familiar figure, he calls the railroads the "arteries" of the Commonwealth. "Through them," he says, "flows the life of the people. Their strength is the economic strength of the total population." "A farmer in Dakota," he writes, "may produce only one or two things advantageously. His machinery, clothes, groceries, books, medicines, etc., come to him by rail. His product, wheat, must go to the seaboard by rail. The value of his product depends entirely upon his ability to ship it to the best market. His very existence, economically, depends upon his transportation facilities."

This was no theorizing from an office-chair. By many long journeys to the ranch and the farms in the Northwest, he had learned what this dependence meant.

Among his best and surest gifts was that rare power of putting himself so vividly in the place of another, as to enlarge and humanize his observation. He was always helped by asking, "What should I think and do, if I were actually in that man's place?" Some measure of this grace is doubtless shared by most men. It does not surprise us when seen among our simpler relationships. In the more restricted sphere of personal obligation, such imaginative sympathy is taken for granted. That the mental imagery of the other man's need should modify the policy of a railroad would excite much popular incredulity. It would come dangerously near the Golden Rule. For what is this pictured solicitude for the farmer and the public generally, but an utopian attempt to do for others what you would like to have them do for you? That "business is business"; that its rigors must forever be kept apart from sentiment, we have been often and rather haughtily advised. If sentiment, however, be distinguished from sentimentality (that is, unregulated and excessive emotion), Baldwin is the man of sentiment in business. He is that, and he is not ashamed of it. He feels the "pain in his brother's side," and the whole man, including the man of business, is moved by it.

To feel himself in the other man's place, gave accurate and truthful expression to his business policy.

Amazing as it may seem, when he said the public good was the first imperious fact with which railroad men had to reckon, he meant it plainly and without guile. When he wrote the sentence, "My interest in railroading is due primarily to social and economic problems," [1] it was free from enigma and from obscurity. "I am thinking," he says, "of the relations between the corporation and the public and the lives of the men in the service." To give ascendancy to that motive: to yield to it before yielding to other motives, is to be swayed by sentiment, and what is more, by moral sentiment.

By subtle indirection, multitudes of business men are swayed to some extent by this moral impulse in their affairs. Their practices are often better than the economic catchwords which a turbulent competition and doubtful popular Darwinism have made popular.

Whenever the industrial struggle reaches intensity, it selects the type of leader who has the ability and the willingness to fight the special battle that is on. Our industrial history is filled with innumerable contests that were fought to the finish. None of these encounters has been more merciless, or has held public interests in more derision, than that over railroad transportation. The reason for this is sim-

[1] Third Lecture, Cornell University.

ple. It is because the railroad was the one key to the great speculative chanees which our natural resources offered. Every glittering value of the mine, all the treasures of the forest and reservoirs of oil, together with countless sehemes to appropriate the unmeasured inerement of land, depended, one and all, upon railway faeilities.

All these dizzying revenues fall to those who can so control aeeess to them as to shut others out. This has been the real struggle,—not in the least for "existence," but for multi-millionaire existence. In the hand-to-hand contests over the great prizes, that man eame to the front who seized the weapon surest to cripple his rival. This was his "fitness" in the struggle. It was a part of his skill to select men who possessed the qualities which this policy required. The darkest pages in our industrial history are those that reeord the results of these extremer eontests. Here is the first and by far the most threatening souree of our political depravity. Here is the origin of many a corrupted judge and fixed jury, as it is the origin of purehased eity councils and state legislatures. It is the pith of Baldwin's conclusion that the time had arrived for public ascendaney over this business of transportation, as well as over every other organized industry which carries with it monopoly privilege.

XII

THE RIGHTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

He had a large and admirable tolerance toward the evils of the railway system, and at the same time an almost vehement criticism of particular sins. With keen ardor, he studied at one period the rise and history of railroads in the United States. Through this perspective, he saw the mountainous obstacles that had been overcome and felt proud of the men who did it. He delighted to recount the risks and hazards of these forerunners in transportation. They were as genuinely adventurers as the great sea-dogs who discovered continents. The elder Vanderbilt was the easy peer of Sir Francis Drake; Tom Scott was as valiant as Frobisher. The iron way made a new world both upon the sea and upon the land. The buccaneers did not die out with the Drakes.

The tale of manipulated legislatures, the headlong venturing of other people's money, the devious schemes of capitalization and finance, became slowly known to him. As they developed in recent years, these depravities had no more uncompromising censor. I say "recent years" because he realized that any real awakening of the moral sense upon these things was itself recent. His first mature writ-

ten word upon this subject states that the essential railroad problems were always far ahead of the people, and very tardily understood by them. The great builders themselves had no apprehension of the larger social and political bearing of the thing intrusted to them.[1]

Three or four years taught Baldwin so much of what the railroad means in our total national life, that he looked upon its influence with a kind of awe. Steam transportation has been called the most revolutionary fact in modern life. It not only creates cities and shifts old racial centres, it shifts economic and political centres with even profounder results. As all this opens to Baldwin, we see him begin to study anew his own problem. To get it as a whole, he turns back to its beginnings.

These data gave him both patience and impatience. They helped him to see why and how the vices of mismanagement arose. They helped him also to see the nature and extent of the peril to the corporation and to the public alike.

He was first astonished to find how appallingly deficient the railroads had been until recent years in ordinary inspection. But as he came to measure the rapidity and the conditions under which the development took place, he recognized how impossible adequate inspection was at first, as there was no realiza-

[1] The sure proof of this is in the debates to which any one may turn in the Proceedings of the Thirty-first Congress, April 29, 1850.

tion of its importance on the part of the public. He learned that inspection, whether of sweat-shops, fire-escapes, child-labor, or any other social evil, never becomes alert and effective until the public has been worried into some sense of its urgency.[1]

In preliminary notes for a public statement, he says that the swiftness with which the railroad developed made adequate safeguarding of social interests a practical impossibility. "No one at the time thought it a necessity and even less, *how* the safeguarding could be brought about." His studies into the origins of transportation and the character of popular sentiment, together with his own experience, account for his tolerance. The roads began as isolated ventures beset on all sides by every degree of risk and uncertainty. He wished to see in Quincy, Massachusetts, "the first railroad in the United States." It was literally a railroad without the steam locomotive; only stretches of wood to which iron straps were nailed, along which the quarry car could move by gravitation. He was fascinated by our first locomotive, which "one could carry off on his shoulder." But most of all, he was interested in the men who organized into success the first steam-railways. They were triumphs of the boldest individualism. He saw how inevitable it was that those who took those hazards should come to think of them as pri-

[1] The need of this supervision is emphasized as late as 1909, by James O. Fagan in *Labor and the Railroads*.

vate rather than public properties. In the era of rapid consolidation, which followed the Civil War, the distinctively public character of these corporations began to emerge. But nearly a generation was still to pass before the general popular awakening came as to the real relation of railways to the public. Baldwin felt that this awakening made the "problem." As these highways knit into closer texture the states and the nation, he saw that railroad responsibilities to the people increased. He thought the public still but half aroused to the real significance of the railroad as it helps or hampers public welfare. He writes, "The *first* [the italics are his own] obligation of public corporations is loyalty and fidelity to their public trusts."

Again and again, this principle appears with the most definite and weighty emphasis. The rank offense for which he had only censure, was that this principle should be held in such practical contempt by so many financiers. That this vast mechanism, created by public favors, should be used *primarily* to make certain private persons quickly rich was bad enough, but worse still, that it should be used as in a dicer's game, for purely speculative ends.

It is mere obsolete mischief according to Baldwin, to leave these monopolies without a regulation so thorough that they shall be servants, and in no sense masters, of the public, as they heretofore have been.

He writes: "When a problem gets to be large enough, and when the public is so directly affected and the capital employed in the industry is performing so public a function, — then society must intervene."

In these cases he says, in underlined words, "there is a higher law than supply and demand."

The stupendous machinery of steam transportation is the one contrivance on which the prosperity of the whole population depends. Without it half our people could not even eat, and yet, a railroad may be wrecked and go to the receiver by the first adroit adventurer who has the wit and power. Blackmailing, parallel roads may be built that have as little public utility as shoplifting. Infinite arts of "development" may be employed, with the sole result of leaving a weight of debt for other folk to pay.

That the railroad function should not be first and solely to make money for managers and stockholders; that the first rigorous obligation should be public utility and the service of every citizen, was taken by many of Baldwin's business associates as an innocent eccentricity. He was, of course, too able and too good a fellow to quarrel with. But would n't a view so topsy-turvy as this, upset every calculation of the market? If public welfare and convenience were really to dominate; if policies were first to be conceived in the public interest, rather than in the

interest of private money income, who would furnish capital for the upkeeping and extension of railways? Men with hard heads were not to be duped by pleasantries like this.

It was a severely practical man, who, after one of these discussions, insisted that "Baldwin was a sort of socialist after all." It was the familiar bandying of terms, meant only to mark disapprobation. To few men could the word "socialist" less fitly apply. In the very bone and marrow of him, he was the individualist. He came to see that public irrigation was far superior to that of private companies. His sympathy kindled at once for what we now call the Roosevelt-Pinchot policy of conserving by Federal action "natural resources." He justified all these, however, on their special merits, without the least yielding to any miscellaneous programme of state sovereignty over industry. Every impulse in him was for independent action.

If the word "self-sufficiency" could be stripped of all association with conceit or self-satisfaction, it would fit him. A man who worked by his side said, "Baldwin needs less help than any man I ever knew." One of his secretaries reports that it was almost impossible to get the hand of his chief off the most trivial details. "He had to know everything and do everything himself."

It is the very assurance and tenacity of his individualism which adds interest to his concessions. So

sure is he that most of the world's work — its hardest and most creative work — must be done under the spur of private enterprise, that we listen the more readily to those exceptions which have another color.

In the friendly taunt that he "was a sort of socialist, after all," there was this one grain of truth. The socialist philosophy at its best has urged with unflinching importunity that the machinery through which we produce our wealth is a social and not an individual product. Not one man, but thousands of men, invented and perfected the present locomotive. The loom, the printing-press, the harvester, and the whole enginery that put our finished values on the market, are one and all products of a multitudinous striving. Much of the great machinery was "invented," not by one man, nor at one time, but by vast numbers of men through successive decades and even generations. The very rights under which these contrivances turn out goods have to be socially defined and socially protected through patents. It is this social origin of the "means of production," on which socialist thinkers base their contention that the proprietorship over these inventions should not be in the hands of individuals solely for their pecuniary gain. Society in its organized capacity (government, state and city) should be owner and arbiter. Those who represent all the people should manage them for the common good. With the refinements

of this collectivist theory, Baldwin did not much concern himself. I doubt if they had real interest for him. Such questions as I heard him ask, implied that such a theory lay in a region too misty and remote to hold his serious attention. It is then this skeptical aloofness from the essential integrity of socialist doctrine which excites more curiosity as to any qualified acceptance of state control which he concedes.

The measure of this acceptance, while it leaves him staunchly in the opposition, does nevertheless show one affiliation with collectivist principles. In its briefest statement, that principle is this: so far as machinery is a social product, tending to monopoly, so far, at least, it should be used *socially*. That is, its first and dominating purpose should be to serve the commonwealth. Its first object should not be to pile up wealth for any individual. An overwhelming part of all machinery in the United States is now employed expressly to make money for private persons who own the "means of production." This method and motive are defended on the purely practical ground that men thus work better and produce more; that the community as a whole profits most, when ownership is individually defined. Those holding this view are confident that the direct money motive should be first, because mankind, ever "lazy as it *dares* to be," will produce more and better, if the incentive is narrowed and sharpened through

the immediate rewards of private ownership and wage-payment.

With this general view, Baldwin sympathized. But he made a momentous exception. He did not make an exception of the other fellow's business, but he excepted his own business of railroading. Private persons, he said, should not be allowed to run the railroads if the primary and all-controlling motive is money. Our transportation system is our largest and most important machine. It is *so* important that the motive in its management should be elevated and broadened. It should be first a social motive and not a personal one. He insisted that the propaganda for teaching this social motive to the people could not begin an hour too soon. It was for the people to accept that motive and compel its adoption by every railroad manager. There should be, in his view, a campaign of public education with this one object, to show all men that this "master-key to their prosperity," the railroad, was doing business for their own uses and for their service. On this fundamental motive, the railroads were to be run. If the half-mocking friend thought of this commanding social motive as classing Baldwin among the socialists, its grain of truth was this, that socialists teach the world to think that the total mass of its wealth-making machines is there for no other purpose than to work for everybody, precisely as the post office is supposed to serve the entire population and not to

make money for individuals. To what extent we can wisely use *all* our mechanism in the same manner that we use the post office, is the sphinx-riddle of this agitation.

Baldwin's one step was in adopting this primary principle of service first and private money-making afterwards, as that principle applies to railroads and to kindred corporations. Only so far did he attempt to apply it, and even in this he opposes the economic gist of the socialist procedure. As none of us can invest in the post office or draw from it any form of dividend or money-profit, so would socialism prevent us from investing in railroads, public corporations, or indeed in any machine business that makes goods for the market.

Baldwin would leave even the "natural monopolies" in private hands, with dividends and profits still dropping into private pockets. To socialist logic, this is the sheer stealing of a social product. Under this logic, the individual does not create the interest dividend he receives. The coupons which he cuts are social values, and should therefore go to the community. So far was Baldwin from this conception of ownership and the distribution of products, that the private earning of these increments (profits and interest) was to him a steadying, educational influence. He has the ordinary conventional views upon this subject. To encourage young men to invest their savings was one of his accepted duties. His whole

thought of negro education and of the possible political independence of that race rested chiefly on the winning of property in forms that would return them interest and profits. He had the same solicitude for the thousands of men under his charge. His real difference from the prevailing business view was the degree of government regulation and publicity to which he would submit certain of the great organized industries.

XIII

PUBLIC OR PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

In a letter to Professor J. W. Jenks, 1899, are these words: —

"To begin with, I assert most emphatically that all public or quasi-public corporations, or any corporation serving the public by franchise of any sort, where the rates, tolls or charges are subject to legislative control, should not only make public reports, but be subject to detailed examination and report by State, City or United States Examiners; on the general theory that only the exact fair cost should be capitalized, and that *the public should have the benefit* after a generous return is made on the *actual* expenditures."

This declaration, even ten years ago, had nothing new in it. The hard battle for this principle of regulation had already forced many men of affairs to make the same admission. But Baldwin goes beyond this. Regulation within the sphere which he marks out is not a thing of "shreds and patches." In the class of corporations indicated, his proposals involve a good deal of reconstruction. But fundamentally they involve a change of business motive.

In the next passage of the letter quoted, he ex-

plains his meaning. In these corporations, the actual cost of the plant is not to be hidden. Openly it is to become the basis of capitalization. All the shady trickery through which the public has been forced to pay dividends on unknown depths of watered stock is to be stopped.[1]

"The exact fair cost should be capitalized, and after capital has its proper return and business efficiency maintained, the surplus is to go where it belongs, *to the public.*" And in that public he includes, of course, the wage-earners. Again and again, he had seen re-watered securities made the excuse for not advancing or for reducing wages. He thought this as unjust as, in the long run, it was unintelligent.

But what is to be said of that very bone of contention — "the proper reward of capital"? Is the measure of reward to be left to every man's estimate, and that estimate to be determined by the shifting equation of individual greed and ambition?

Baldwin thought this could be determined only by actual experience based on the needs of a corporation which "had nothing to hide," — a corporation honestly capitalized, open and above board in every phase of its management. Such a business competently managed would secure capital at low rates.

[1] President Taft now recommends to Congress "to give to this tribunal [a Court of five members] authority to determine the amount of bonds and stock a railroad may issue in order to fix the amount of capital on which it must earn interest."

What he is criticising may be shown in its extreme form by an illustration.

Last year, a banker, among the first two or three in his city, threw light upon this question. The management of the local trolley system was so seriously under public censure as to make difficulties in securing capital. This, the banker did not like. When he was shown the soundness of the security that could be offered he said openly, "Yes — seven per cent; but that is not what my customers want in a venture of this sort. They expect three or four times as much." What was the "venture of this sort"? It was a public service corporation in a large western city. In the same fellowship were gas companies, telephone systems, schemes for land improvement, every one of which had practiced coarse briberies upon scores of city or state officials.

Except in degree and directness, the instance is not exceptional in the United States. These "natural monopolies," as they are linked to our railroad system, have been the field of adventure for speculators to whom seven or eight per cent is far from "proper." They want forty per cent, or two hundred if they can get it. What per cent did the gentlemen get who twenty years ago got control of the street railways of New York City? They carried off a great many millions of money, and left half-ruined properties. They used these public franchises for one solitary end, namely, to wring out of them the last

dollar of possible profit, and then, by any chicane that could be given legal aspect, unload them on others. This, in every shade of turpitude, has been the game in this country.[1] There is scarcely a city in our midst that has not been thus bled. These are the platitudes of our financial experience, but I recall them here in the hope of making clearer how Baldwin's principle would affect this wide plundering of the Commonwealth. With these monopolies and natural resources he was ready to limit profits to a "fair return" on capital, and by this he meant a return that would attract honest business enterprise.

With business that is really "private," and freely open to competition, he said that a man might make what he could. If the partner in a shoe-shop, the corner grocer or market gardener could turn his forty per cent, or any other per cent, he was to be honestly congratulated. With the field open to all comers he could not, in Baldwin's opinion, do a large and successful business without some superiority of skill in which the consumer would have his share. Regulation was for monopoly, and for those dangers —

[1] A managing director of an Alaskan syndicate has just given testimony (February, 1910) before a Senate Committee. According to his own statement the plans promise a profit of more than three thousand per cent.

In 1909 one of our great Express Companies revealed the fact that it had a three hundred per cent dividend to distribute from surplus earnings.

adulterations, frauds — which thrive even in ordinary business.

That government powers must deepen and strengthen does not disturb him. He sees this concentration of authority as a necessary and desirable result of changes in population and in modern business. It is the era of organization on a great scale. He pictures this rapid interlinking of big enterprises as already national, and day by day becoming more so. Its unifying momentum was erasing state lines as it was at the same time destroying provincial and sectional aloofness. He believed that the lingering bitterness in the South, its "state religion," all that kept it isolated and apart in feeling from the North and West was already practically a thing of the past. First among the causes of this sense of a common destiny was the railroad. This in its good sense was the *merger*. Every new business that the railroad made possible was an object lesson in nationality.

His training for this large view was perfect. In the far West, upon the Union Pacific, in Montana, upon the Kansas Central, upon the Flint and Père Marquette, finally, in the South and East, he had every occasion that many-sided experience could give him to see the problem as a whole. He saw this actual nationalizing of economic power, and that a corresponding nationalizing of political power was to be expected.

First among the duties which he would give to this centralized power is a compulsory truth-telling on the part of these corporations. It shall be made a dangerous criminal offense to deceive either stockholder or the public. There shall be a rendering of accounts so uniform and of such simplicity and directness that they can be easily understood.

We are face to face, he says, with a large mass of businesses that all admit to be public monopolies. They are forms of business chiefly in which every one now sees that an unhindered competition is socially destructive. The very foundations on which they rest are gifts of the public. From this creative act the public derives its rights, which rights, Baldwin claims, *increase with growth of population and the inevitable further combining of these bodies.* His reasons for this last opinion are significant. The very fact of extended and ever tightening combination (as in transportation) makes this organization more intimately and intensely a part of the national life. More and more sensitive becomes the dependence of the total population upon this commercial mechanism.

He seems to me to say, without qualification, that the essential rights of the public, over the railways for example, are in direct ratio to the completeness and extent of public dependence upon them.

The usual socialist corollary he does not draw, for

reasons which will at once appear. But this weaving of the transportation system into the very tissue of the nation makes it primarily a public fact and, only in secondary and permitted degree, the concern of private persons. More and more there must be, he says, public ascendancy over private interest.

The "essence" of the railroad problem, he writes, is that it is, first of all, public, and the first reason given is that the common welfare demands it. He holds the public amiss unless it subjects every monopoly of this class to the same standard. He says that those in control should be taken at their word. The organizers ask corporate privileges. They tell the public that it can be better served if their claims are granted. Waste can be avoided, economies effected, new business be added, and more expeditiously done. "Take them," says Baldwin, "at their word." These benefits are precisely what the greater organization *should* accomplish and, if honestly and competently managed, *will* accomplish. It should lower costs and improve the service for the consumer, and at the same time be all the readier to advance wages or in some way better the conditions of labor. These larger benefits are the elementary justification of the new powers granted to monopoly.

On the wide borderland beyond these privileged entities are innumerable other monopolies which

present perplexities enough of their own. These, too, are not to be left alone. According to their place and nature, they demand attention. Let us, he says, understand this, but in the meantime concentrate on the better known and more important field of public and semi-public corporations. Learn first this lesson, and the resulting experience will open safer ways into that other and more difficult region of our industrial life.

Thus far, this is his position. Every reader of collectivist sympathies will ask at this point why he ignores public ownership. If the monopoly power he has in mind is so vital to every human interest, if its "essence" is public rather than private; if abuses have been as grave as he states them, and almost a generation of legislation has accomplished so little, why should he shrink from ultimate government ownership?

The answer made by Baldwin will not satisfy the radical inquisitor. But for this country, it is at least the best answer that can be given. It brings out by far the weightiest difficulty that his argument requires. He is not satisfied with the most commonplace of all objections, that government ownership would throw this stupendous industry straight into politics and its vast army of employees thus become an embarrassing political force. He was fully aware that the railroads already had been nothing if not political. From the first, the manage-

ment had been sunk in politics, so that it had a merry note to hear objections on the ground of "politics." Nor is he better satisfied with the usual analogy of the post-office service, which he thinks at best rather slovenly and costly. He recalls ten years during which there were eight different postmaster generals. If anything distantly approaching this were to happen to railroad administration, he thinks it would be fatal, and that it would be relatively far more fatal, because the business of transportation is, he says, nearly "one hundred and sixty times larger" than the post office, as measured by per-capita money interest of our population. This seems to him a difference in kind and degree so momentous that the post-office analogy only adds darkness to the inquiry.

We are rich enough to stand the annual deficit of the post office, and even to allow extravagant contracts to be made with the railroads for carrying the mails. Our mailing facilities represent a service for which we are willing to pay an extra tax. It is a very simple service. It is very personal, and we are properly sensitive about it. That it should cost us an extra twenty millions yearly is an expense to be tolerated, but if the railroads, he asks, are to be run politically by the government, and anything like a corresponding deficit should result, — would the people pay it? — ought they to pay it?

He admitted that if the time ever came when

public officials would in the mass work as faithfully for general interests as they work for private ones, public ownership could then be considered.

His real misgivings about public ownership of railroads are political, but political in this sense: that government management would merely shift our present difficulties to more treacherous ground. The struggle for differential traffic advantages is now desperate enough, but Baldwin was convinced that on the vast territory now covered, and with the variety of interests at stake, government ownership would put far too great a strain upon Congress. Powerful and widely scattered industrial interests would of necessity have their representatives there. The conflict, at that point, over transportation advantages, the pulling and hauling for railroad extension and for other favors, would, in his belief, be fraught with more danger and inconvenience than under private ownership "*properly regulated.*"

Rightly or wrongly, he assumed that this regulation could in time be made effectual. For many years to come we are, at any rate, explicitly committed to this policy. It seemed to him the part of wisdom to give regulation a fair trial and to concentrate upon that our entire strength.

From nearly ninety pages of lecture-notes, these are his opinions. I should give them more fully in his own language if it were not that he evidently spoke to his class with slight dependence upon the

manuscript. Much of it is set down in such incompleteness as merely to aid him in extemporaneous exposition.[1]

[1] Professor Jenks tells me that no lecturer ever came to Cornell who roused among his students a heartier or more cordial interest than Baldwin. "They could not see enough of him. . . . They hung about him after lecture and vied with each other in entertaining him in their society-houses." Professor Jenks also adds that it is doubtful if any important railroad man at that time in the country took a bolder stand in favor of these policies of regulation which, in some form, are now accepted.

XIV

LABOR AND CAPITAL

BALDWIN'S general view of labor problems had the imprint of one working and thinking within a powerful industrial organization. He left a completer and more definite record of opinions on this topic than on any other. In a long and carefully prepared address given at Fanueil Hall, Boston, January, 1903, we have his ripest thought in its freest expression. On the margin of the typewritten manuscript, he wrote with his pen the large underscored word "*Experience*," as if the paper stood at least for facts that had been a part of his own life. It was his good fortune not to meet this friction between "labor and capital" wholly unprepared. He had the sharpened interest given him by college studies on general economic and social issues.

So definite was his interest that he began at once in Omaha to write out the history of a threatened strike against the Union Pacific Railroad. The strike was diverted from that road by the adroit management of its president, only to break out later with immense damage on the Gould system. This was Baldwin's first field-study.

From that time he was never free from experiences

which kept his mind on some phase of the labor question. He looked carefully at various experiments to keep the peace between employer and employed: experiments which we now call "Welfare Institutions." These usually begin with the initiative of the employer, securing as far as possible the active coöperation of the wage-earners. Baldwin expressed much sympathy with the "welfare work," because it assumed the coöperation and common interest of both parties. It pleased him because it brought employers and men together in orderly ways that meant a broader education for both; but against one feature of the work he conceived something like indignation. He found so many employers who seemed to be "playing with these philanthropies" for the sole purpose of destroying labor organization. "If they want to fight trade-unions," he said, "that is their privilege; but let them do it openly and not in the guise of baths, gymnasiums, cheap lunches, entertainments, or profit-sharing."

He did not believe the men ever were deceived by these agencies. They were the first to see through the employer, if he was displaying these institutions, while secretly, the weakening of the trade-union was the real motive. He knew that many employers were straight and honest in their desire to organize this welfare work for its own sake, and he believed the men could in the main be trusted to find this out, and would so far stand by the employer's efforts.

One distinction made by Baldwin is to be kept in mind. He admitted, in respect to these things, a difference between organized industries and the smaller disorganized undertakings where competition is freer and at its best. He had always in mind the more highly developed industries, the success of which assumes the necessity of organization. With clear precision, he put himself on record as to the reasons why industrial organization and combination stand for progress. He was always primed with illustrations to show the havoc which an unbridled competition had caused in his own field of transportation. Combination had proved that the "anarchy of every man for himself" could be overcome.

Here is the root of all his thinking about labor organizations. In the spirit of fair play, he asks the simplest question: If these billions of capital have to be organized in order to protect themselves against disrupting rivalries, do not the laborers working for these organizations have the same need of combination? Do they not need it for the same reason? Is capital exposed to cut-throat competition in any greater degree than labor is exposed to it? How can capital have the face to ask for combination, in order to free itself from a murderous competition, when labor suffers every whit as much from the same cause? An encouraged immigration of unskilled foreigners subjects the common workman in this

country to the most relentless pressure, and yet he is to be deprived of the very instruments of self-protection which capital claims and is strong enough to get.

I have heard Baldwin very eloquent on this subject. The deepest thing in him was the sense of justice. He felt it like an insult that the more powerful party should stoop to ask such odds against the weaker and more defenseless party.

The term "a man of principle" has no mere conventional application to Baldwin. Wherever we see him facing any really serious issue involving right and wrong, he is held by a principle. It is this which guards him from loose and doubtful expediencies. What he considered the fundamentals in the moral code had a meaning on which he was willing to act even at the cost of great inconvenience.

What he conceived to be the principle of justice in the relations of capital and labor was not merely a word in a book or a subject for an occasional rhetorical flourish. In one of his first difficulties over wages on a western road, he found that he must order a cut of ten per cent in the wage scale. He knew so well what this reduction meant, that he gave the utmost care to his examination of the road's finances. The case must be so clear that it could stand any exposure. Once convinced of this, his decision was instant. The cut should be made, but how could it be most justly distributed? This became his problem.

Would it be just to subject the man with fifty dollars per month to the same cut as the man of seventy-five dollars per month? Many unskilled men with families were working for less than fifty dollars. To lower a standard so close to the bare necessities seemed to him impossible. He fixed finally upon fifty dollars per month as a minimum, below which the reduction should not fall.

This left him with his own personal equation. He, too, was a wage-earner, drawing his support from the same sources as the men. If their wages ought to bear some relation to the earnings of the road, what about his own earnings as general manager? He was telling the men that their income had to be cut because the road was temporarily in a bad way. "They would pull it out, but meantime the income from the traffic could not afford the present wage-scale." If that was true, was it less true of the income he himself received? It was not in business practice to ask the men at the top to reduce their wages. But Baldwin could speak with safe authority for one man. He would at least cut his own salary, and he would cut it more than he asked from any of the men. If he asked a sacrifice of ten per cent from them, he would cut his own fifteen per cent. I have no evidence that this fact was used with the men. It is reported by the manager who succeeded him, and is given here less for the fact itself than to show that the principle of justice was something more to

him than a fine phrase. With much baffling he learned that these differences between employer and employed can be brought to justice only in a rough and fumbling way. But this never became a reason to him why he should not do his best to make those under him feel that the "square deal" was his honest aim.

That he succeeded in doing this in every position he ever held is clear. Of the present instance on the Flint & Père Marquette, his successor writes: —

"It was his practice to give his subordinates the opportunity to fully express to him their opinion on matters in connection with the road; it rather pleased him to have a subordinate differ with him, and it was through these arguments that his position was made clear and his ultimate purpose explained: By means of such confidence he soon created a loyal support which worked with remarkable harmony to a common purpose."

He had gone to this road from the Union Pacific in June, 1891. The property was in difficulties. When he resigned three years later, the president of the road, Mr. William W. Crapo, of New Bedford, wrote him a letter of thanks.

"You have," he says, "developed its traffic, economized its expenditures and improved many of its methods.

"Our personal and official relations have been so intimate and harmonious that while regretting your resignation, I congratulate you upon your advance-

ment to more important and responsible railroad duties elsewhere, and extend my cordial good wishes for your success."

President Crapo followed this by another letter in which, with much delicacy, he refuses to stand in the way of Baldwin's advancement. He wishes, however, to assure him of two things, — first, that as president he has been so relieved of painful anxiety by Baldwin's skill and tact that he dreads the change; and (in his own words): —

"If, however, anything shall occur in the next few weeks to cause doubts or a revision of judgment, I beg you to understand that I should regard with positive joy your continuance with the F. and P. M. In the change I can foresee for myself additional anxiety and increased labor and much perplexity."

In his three most important positions, this relief from "anxiety and perplexity" which Baldwin brings has the same hearty recognition. "Leave the rows to Baldwin," soon came to be understood.

Even earlier, on his first promotion to the Leavenworth Division of the Kansas Central, it was prominent among his qualifications that "everybody liked him."

Within a few months, he was advanced to the position of general manager of the Montana Union, where he had to face the powerful and aggressive competition of adjacent roads.

The President of the Union Pacific, Hon. C. F. Adams, wrote this recommendation: —

"Mr. Baldwin is a young man of the highest possible character and remarkable abilities. He was sent out by me on the recommendation of President Eliot of Harvard College, to take a subordinate position in the service of the Union Pacific, now three years ago. He distinguished himself at once by his energy, his ability, and his high character, and has been recommended by all the chief officers of the Company for more rapid promotion than I saw my way to consent to. It seemed to me that in his case they were likely to eat the fruit before it was ripe. I have therefore held him back.

"He is peculiarly fitted in my opinion in every way to fill so delicate a position as that of General Manager of the Montana Union. He is clear-headed, energetic, in every respect clean, and has quite *a remarkable faculty for getting on with men.*"

The explanation was once given me of his success in labor troubles, that "his personality accounted for it." This is far too simple. His first real friction was in Kansas over some dispute with the engineers. It has been impossible to secure adequate details of the event. A man in charge of the engineers wrote of it as follows: —

"When a wage-settlement with the engineers came up, Baldwin outlined to me what he would exact at a pending conference, and to my expression

of doubt returned a determined, 'That's the only arrangement possible for the road and they 'll have to take it.' And they did — and, as usual, liked Baldwin better than ever. He would not concede any right of the road in a matter of discipline, and yet I never knew of an instance of resentment. All respected his unflagging industry and open, healthy life."

This leaves much to be accounted for. It sounds in its bare statement familiarly autocratic. But it does not sound like Baldwin. It assumes that his own decision was the sole factor in the dispute. It is not thus that men get on with human nature as represented in labor organizations. It was moreover against principles that were as the breath of life in his whole attitude toward the trade-union. He was at times a very stormy critic of abuses in these associations. But he was never guilty of flaunting his belief in unions and then secretly fighting those features on which group efficiency depends. He refused to adopt a method, much in vogue just now, of selecting the more skilled and influential among the workers with the secret purpose of beating the union by paying those selected above the union scale.

He took the open, high ground that if the labor organization was faulty, the business management should honestly try to coöperate with all that was best in the union in order to rid it of its weaknesses.

XV

TRADE-UNIONS

It was a part of his generous faith in his fellows to believe that they meant well, whatever their errors in judgment. It was his instinct, in labor troubles, to take for granted that there was some misunderstanding. He said the mistakes were quite as likely to be on the side of capital as on the side of labor.

In his many conferences with the men, it was as if he were perpetually asking, "Do we clearly understand each other?" "Do you see the thing as I see it?" There was always the frank assumption that he might be wrong and the men right. The men saw that he was not playing a stage rôle. Not merely to get their confidence, but to *deserve* it was the source of his strength.

In his notes on "Arbitration," and what it can accomplish, he admits the limits within which it can work. Because there is so much it cannot do, therefore, confidence must be established. If both sides believe in each other, many unsettled things can be left over. He thought the men would trust an employer "almost too much," if he had been so straight with them as to win this confidence.

When he left the Southern Railroad, letters came to him eloquent with this loyalty. Under date of Sept. 17, 1896, a subordinate writes: "I desire to frankly state that in my whole experience in railroad business, I have never come in contact with a superior officer in whom I had greater confidence, and whose energy, ability, and general consideration for subordinates, was more marked."

Another writes: "I am sure you will permit me — an humble employee — to thank you. All your men have felt that they could approach you under all circumstances, and that they would have a respectful hearing."

"In my poor way," writes another, "I said to you when I last saw you, what I now repeat: that the very high order of intelligence, the earnestness of purpose, the firm, but kindly, discipline and the just and considerate treatment of your associates and subordinates, which universally characterized your management of the So. Ry. have given you a place in the estimation and affection of those who were fortunate enough to be associated with you, that might well be envied by any one."

Better than any law or institutional devices is the spirit which calls out such response.

It should be repeated that Baldwin's experience with trade-unions was so far exceptional that he dealt with those orders — engineers, firemen, trainmen, etc. — which have made, since 1885, a fine

record of restraint and self-control. No great business requires more trustworthy labor than the railroad or has more effective power in selecting it and perpetually weeding out the unreliable men. It was with this body of strong and self-sufficient organizations that Baldwin had to do. If his lot had been cast among weak, raw, and turbulent unions, his magnanimity would have been put to severer trial. As it was, both his studies and his experience led him through thick and thin to stand by the trade-union. He believed in it on the grounds of common justice. He believed in it on the grounds of good business management. In an age of industrial organization, he said, labor should not be deprived of advantages which capital finds absolutely necessary to its own protection. He spoke hotly of one of our most powerful steel corporations claiming and getting every privilege of the tariff; every advantage of multitudinous immigrants; every added efficiency which organization gives; and yet doing its best to defeat the efforts of the men to secure the one privilege open to them — that of organization. He held that the absence of organization in a great centre like Pittsburg exposed the men to dangers of every sort. Without organization, they could not *as a class* maintain a fair wage-scale. Skilled individuals could do this, but not the weaker men. He believed that the whole system of insurance benefits grew with the strength of labor organization. He thought the well-

to-do portion of the community almost criminally ignorant of what unions like the cigarmakers, typographers, and railway men were doing through their vast funds to protect their sick and out-of-work members. "You hear," he said, "perpetual talk about the weaknesses and lawlessness of the unions, but almost never of that which educates the unions, or of the benefits which save the community millions of money every year." He insisted also that the frightful injustice in compensating accidents would be earlier and more surely corrected with the help of labor organization than without it.[1] All, in a word, which stands for the standard of living and security was far safer when labor was fortified by organization.

Baldwin had many conversations on these points with Colonel Carroll D. Wright, and there was between the two men an agreement so perfect that Colonel Wright could say, "If you could get Baldwin's capacity, sympathy, and moral insight into all our big employers, there would be an end to all really serious labor trouble within two years." When Colonel Wright had left the Labor Department to become President of the College at Worcester, he wrote to Mr. Nutter of the opposition which Baldwin's methods first met from the president of the Southern road. This official, says Colonel Wright, "pooh-poohed the idea of any resort to ethical con-

[1] Any one who looks at the recent "Pittsburg Survey" may see what these injustices to which he referred mean.

siderations, stating that they had no place in the economic management of business. Mr. Baldwin persisted and finally was told to handle the matter as he saw fit."

In the same letter Colonel Wright relates the following incident: —

"After his experience as managing vice-president of the Southern Railway system, Mr. Baldwin was invited to meet the directors of the Long Island Railroad. After some consultation Mr. Baldwin said: 'Gentlemen, I hardly think you wish me to become president of your road. You know my attitude toward the organization of labor and that every manager should treat with the representatives of the organization.'

"The chairman of the board said: 'You have stated, Mr. Baldwin, the very reasons among others why we wish you to become president of our road.'"

No man ever gave a truer or a more disinterested reason for granting labor the same rights which capital claims and takes.

These are his words: —

"I need as an employer, an organization among my employees, because they know their needs better than I can know them, and they are therefore the safeguard upon which I must depend in order to prevent me from doing them an injustice."

No historic or economic writer has put the justification of the union on higher or firmer ground.

He looked upon the unions not only as a necessary and legitimate grouping of interests for their own protection; he looked upon them also as having just claim to representation before the employer. "Capital," he said, "has it and must have it. Why should labor be deprived of it?" His clearest statement was before the American Economic Association at Ithaca in 1899. Before the railways began to organize on a great scale after the Civil War, he writes: "The local nature of the lines with officers and employees selected from the local territory, tended to bring about a personal relationship between officers and men, and there was little need of a more complex organization. But with the rapid growth and combination of railroads in the early sixties, with their larger and more complicated operations, with the need for stability of organization and permanency of employment, with ever increasing danger of service, there grew up a demand for relief in cases of accident and sickness and for an insurance benefit in case of death. This need was not recognized formally by the railroads; it was met, however, by the employees themselves, who organized benefit associations for their welfare and relief. The importance of these associations of employees to their own welfare as well as to the railroads has been marked. The improvement of the status of railroad employees largely by reason of their *own associations* raised the standard of men engaged in the service. The em-

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ployees and the public received its benefits and the railroads unconsciously, and involuntarily, perhaps, profited by the better standard developed."

He says expressly that the men deserve more credit for making out the insurance and benefit schemes, for starting them and making a public opinion in their favor than anything done by the railroads. Again, "It may be noted that this need for relief and insurance was recognized by the men themselves nearly twenty years before the matter received formal attention on the part of the railroad companies."

Upon the much-mooted question of the "incorporation" of trade-unions, I find but one expression of his opinion: that while this might be well, if it came of their own free choice, under no circumstance should they be compelled to incorporate. "I do not see that the incorporation of the labor organization would solve the question. In my judgment the principal labor organizations will always oppose compulsory arbitration because they know they can do *better* by *themselves*."

As he would have the representation of the trade-union openly "recognized," he insisted that the logic of recognition should be accepted. The aim of the unions is to make their wage-bargain not individually but collectively. With no shuffling, Baldwin agrees that "collective bargaining" is a fair claim and as such should be accepted by employers. He says: —

"Progress is measured by the constantly increasing organization both of capital and of labor and the increased effectiveness of each. The organization of capital may be interpreted as the increased ability through corporations to direct capital in the most intelligent and efficient manner, and the organization of labor may be interpreted as the increased ability of labor to arrive at an intelligent basis for collective bargaining. The common spirit of fairness in our minds suggests immediately that any dispute between two parties should be settled by the decision of disinterested, fair-minded men, and we say that the whole structure of society is founded on the theory that representatives of the people determine the relations between individuals, when fundamental questions affecting society as a whole are involved."

That the unions should have their representative or agent with whom the capitalist manager should deal, he also held to be only what capital constantly claimed for itself and should, therefore, grant to labor. He said at Faneuil Hall, there was no difference between his theoretical justification of these views and his practical action. Throughout the whole area of highly organized industry labor should have whatever was essential to make its organization effective — collective bargaining, "recognition," and dealing with employers through representatives. It should, above all, have the organized "joint-agreement," through which employers and employed

could periodically arrange the wage-scale and other conditions under which work was carried on. He felt with Commissioner Wright that the joint-agreement was the logic, not merely of labor organization, but of industrial organization. Capital is organized, labor is organized, not temporarily but permanently. That both are compelled to work together raises the simplest of questions: how can the two organizations manage their common interests? Shall the relation in which they stand be undefined? Shall they ignore each other, or fight each other in every dispute? Baldwin thought this both a folly and an injustice. If both are there, he said, and must work together, let the *fact* be recognized in some rational form. The world over, this has come more and more to be through the joint-agreement; capital and labor having each its representatives to decide (with provision for arbitration) on wages, hours, and conditions. In a published article — "The Interest of Labor in the Economics of Railroad Consolidation" — he wrote: "The function performed by railroads has become too important to the body politic to permit of any solution of these serious labor and wage questions, except by intelligent consideration on the part of the representatives both of the management and of the employees."

XVI

DEALING WITH THE MEN

In the summer of 1894, he was given practical management of the Southern Railroad system. Its condition had brought it into the hands of a receiver, the security holders had been asked to accept a reduction, the men's pay had been cut ten per cent below the corresponding wages on other roads of its class.

When the finances had been reorganized, there were fixed charges equal to the supposed net earnings of the road. It went forth that the reorganization was complete, and backed by New York interests headed by J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. What was more natural than that the men should then ask for a restoration of their former wage-scale? They had taken their share in the year's misfortune; there must be some limit to this sacrifice; their fellow unionists on other roads were in receipt of full pay; why should they in the South put up any longer with a mutilated scale? It was the boast of the directors that the road was at last solidly financed. Rarely are men more justified in asking such questions.

Baldwin was new in his place when these demands took form. They were apparently perfectly fair.

They were temperately expressed, and by those who represented the entire force, — engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen. The leaders of these four strong bodies had come to complete agreement as to the justice of their cause. They had intrusted this cause to a joint committee from the four labor organizations. It was with this body that the new manager, then thirty-one years of age, had to cope.

He heard soon that they "were looking for the new man." In the first interview, he confessed frankly that he was unprepared to take any stand, as every moment had been absorbed by his new duties. But his questioners were not put off. He made a definite promise to give every possible moment to an examination of the conditions on which his answer must be based, naming a date beyond which his reply should not be delayed.

The result of his study took the form of a well-printed pamphlet, with a map. It was a close statistical study of the gross and net earnings of the road during the four previous years, with simple and lucid tables showing the existing business conditions. It was a pamphlet made not for stockholders or to induce the public to invest money: it was made directly for these representatives of the men — some fifty in number.

Earnings, prices, hours, and wages were given *in such form that every man could test the truth of each statement.* To make this all the stronger, the closing

pages were given to a minute classification of wages, hours, "mile runs," average work-days in the month, through all the different departments. Neither brakeman, flagman, fireman, nor engineer could fail to test the accuracy of the report from his own experience and that of his friends.

The men were told that, during his first three months of service, large reduction had been made in the salaries of the general officers. The report made clear what the "depression of '93" meant. It was shown in one of the first passages that the men were not alone the sufferers.

"Between July 1st, and September 1st, 1894, the Southern Railway Company took possession of the Richmond and Danville, and East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia properties, and immediately made further reductions in the salaries of General Officers and others varying from ten per cent to twenty-five per cent, *but made no change* in the then existing rates of pay of yourselves or of other employees receiving rates the same as those received by you, or less."

It was further explained why the grounds of refusal could not be shown in verbal conferences.

"Printed copies of this statement and of the schedules will, therefore, be handed to you for consideration, with the hope that you will recognize the force and fairness of the reasons given for the company's present inability to make the increases in the rates of pay which you ask.

"You have before you the evidence of the great decline in the company's business; its smaller revenue, both gross and net, and the diminished freight and passenger rates for years; the general depression existing in all branches of industry in the South, and the consequent curtailment of the earning power of all individuals and corporations, and of the fact that amid this shrinkage, which is almost universal, you have borne a smaller proportionate reduction than any other class engaged in industrial pursuits."

To every man this report was given with the urgent request that he study it and talk about it with others.

Baldwin refused even to promise a restoration of wages at any future date, though this was finally done without any prompting when prosperity came. It was observed further that many minor inequalities and unfairnesses were instantly corrected by him when brought to his notice. From the first, every door was open to the men or to their representatives for personal conference with the manager. There went with this report many and long conferences, in which there was the frankest give-and-take on both sides.

Six years later, in a paper read before the American Academy of Political and Social Science,[1] he showed the value, if necessary, "of long and protracted conferences with the men," that no lurking

[1] "The Interest of Labor in the Economics of Railroad Consolidation."

suspicion or misunderstanding should remain. No time was ever too precious to explain the exact meaning of all rules and regulations under which the men worked. To the "devil of misunderstanding" he traced most of the mischief in labor disputes. He held it as the first duty of the men in control to see at all costs that misunderstandings were avoided.

Five years after the occurrence here described, the representatives of these four trade-unions put out a statement from which Baldwin quoted at length in his address of 1900. It is not an employer, but the men who say: —

"Unjust or unreasonable dismissals and suspensions are becoming fewer in number and fewer in proportion to the whole.

"Road, train and enginemen have little or no complaint as to hours of service; they are generally paid for all excess hours; train and enginemen, as a rule, are paid overtime on a very fair basis. The labor organizations do not interfere with the employee who is not a member, nor with his right to work; they depend upon their standing, reputation and works to attract to them all worthy and well-qualified employees.

"The whole business and laboring world are more interested in stability of rates than they are in the questions of whether or not those rates are a fraction too high."

I have heard a good deal of surprise expressed that the unions accepted Baldwin's report in the trouble of 1894. The official literature of railroads has been, even later than that date, notorious for its purposed and slovenly obscurity. The report which Baldwin sent to his men was written to be understood. It was thus accepted as a frank and honest statement of facts. The men took its conclusions and went to work. They saw that here was neither trifling nor indirection.

Two or three years after he had left the South, I went with him over one of the roads. It was worth the trip, only to observe the eager cordiality with which every possible grade of railroad man greeted him whenever he appeared. The man tapping the car-wheels with his hammer, the man wheeling a truck, the engineer from his box, and the negro porters in the Pullman cars, had the same heartiness in smile and voice as they spoke his name.

At a station where we stopped for some change, he stepped from the car in his shirt-sleeves, holding in both hands a tray from his trunk piled with clothing. As unconsciously as if in his own room, he walked with his load, hatless, to another car, calling men by familiar names as they addressed him.

At whatever points he met these men who had served him, one could see why capital got on with labor. This manager had been among them a simple, straightforward human being. He had played no

tricks upon them; neither had he told them any lies. They looked upon him first of all as one who knew his business so well that he needed no cunning devices. He was strong enough to be without disguise. One of his college intimates says: "Bill did not wear his heart upon his sleeve, but he was the frankest and most open-hearted man I ever met. He was almost too free from the little concealments which most men have." This transparency would have been of little service to a weaker man. It was both a charm and an efficiency in a man of Baldwin's strength.

After he had left the road, many letters came to him from different parts of the South. There was plenty of congratulation from superiors for strictly business service to the properties. But from men in the humbler positions came disinterested tributes to that unspoiled humanity which could express itself to all men, with careless familiarity, without a risk to the secure dignity of his character.

In every book upon the social question, we are reminded of the industrial changes in recent capitalistic development which now make impossible the close personal association between master and men which existed in simpler times. This gap has deepened and widened with the growth of great combinations. One chief reason why "Welfare Work" has so spread in our time, is the need of finding some substitute for the broken human ties which

in older days bound employer and employed together.

The bankers have at last come to control our railroads, but not one in a thousand of the men who operate them can these financiers ever see or know. It is the extent of this separation that has forced the most sagacious business directors to set a new value on men of Baldwin's stamp. The abyss cannot be closed up, but it can be bridged, and skillful connection can be made between organized capital on one side and organized labor on the other. Baldwin meantime actually does his best as general manager to bridge the gulf in his own person. A railroad man at Atlanta whom I saw in the car with Baldwin, said of him: "He travels more and sees more of the men in every possible department than any manager I ever knew."

In one of the most careful papers he ever wrote — on "Industrial Arbitration" — he gives the gist of all that is best in this agency. He objects to compulsion in every form, on the ground that it shifts a responsibility which the parties ought themselves to bear. But the essence of industrial peace is so to organize between both camps that there shall be the *freest possible play in personal relations* between capital and labor. So inveterate was his belief in average human nature that he was always willing to trust it if it were given a perfectly fair chance. He held it to be the business of the capitalistic manager

that this chance should be at all times open and secure. He thought capital never made more reckless blunders than in ignoring or taking too lightly this function of keeping the peace. He thought it a sure sign of Senator Mark Hanna's high business intelligence that he gave so much time to this one feature. In some of our worst labor conflicts in recent years, he felt that the financial management was chiefly to blame because it left the human side of its problem too much alone. It had no proper intermediary to deal *preventively* with the laborer far out in the field.

This faith in human nature, "if you give it a fair chance," was not confined to labor organizations. He applies it to the general public as "the one final court" to which we must trust. To get the bottom facts squarely before the public was far harder, but even more necessary, than to get the facts before your own labor representatives. With public service corporations, this was the great educational test: "to be so honest with the public that it *could* trust corporate management."

In his address before the Academy of Political Science, he wrote a passage, concerning the disturbance here considered, putting the word "provided" in capital letters: —

"During that controversy it is interesting to note that the public press throughout the states where those lines were operated was almost unanimous in its support of the railroad in its position. It was the

public sentiment that served as the jury for that case, and so it will always be, and the public, in my judgment, will always be a fair jury both to the railroad as well as to the employees, PROVIDED THEY KNOW ALL OF THE FACTS IN THE CASE, and further provided that the operations of the road are known to be administered wisely and in the interests of the public."

Nothing in his working philosophy was oftener repeated than the spirit of this passage. Whether with the trade-union or the public, the only conceivable basis of secure industrial and political action, lies in publicity and a habitual telling of the truth.

Now, if there is any secret in his success (as in the main incident given above), it is that he personally and practically tried to meet this ever-present need of keeping and deserving the confidence of the men. He had a kind of fanatical belief that this could always be done, if the price were paid. This price was precisely what he shows in the threatened strike on the Southern road. Upon the men's request, he said, "All right. Give me a chance. Let me first examine the situation." His investigation was so thorough, his conferences with the men were so many and so prolonged, that not a member of the labor committee had a doubt that the facts had been put before them. It was said: "He likes a man all the better if he dares to differ and make opposition."

It was the distinction of this rare diplomacy to establish confidence *at the earliest moment;* it was this initial confidence which made the men believe in him on other and more questionable issues. For example, he set it down in his lectures, as he did to the men, that they were to have their share in the road's prosperity. When their wages were restored voluntarily, they believed him to be acting on that principle. Step by step he builds up that confidence by taking pains that the men have the proofs of this administrative sincerity. In October, 1901, he replied to a New York editor: "Ignorance, arrogance and tyranny rise to the top in organized labor whenever such organization is opposed by tyranny and arrogance, and in my experience I have seen as much of these qualities of human nature in the employer as in the employee."

He held it first among the duties of the more powerful party to set the example of candor and fairness, and in his own person there was no failure to put his principle into practice.[1]

[1] He had the courage and the fairness which constitute the born peacemaker. In 1889, a controversy arose between the Rutland and the Vermont Central Railroads. President Calloway of the N. Y. Central and Hudson River was asked to select a man to arbitrate, and Baldwin was chosen.

XVII

OPEN OR CLOSED SHOP?

Thus far we have as to labor the same apparent radicalism, as in his insistence that railroads should be regulated entirely in the public interest and that all private property rights should become a secondary consideration. Yet, he will hear nothing of public ownership. Private interest shall still be trusted with the management and possession. With the trade-unions, he is still the conservative in ultimate practical views. The test of this is always the liberty of the individual. Shall the trade-unions have the "closed shop"? Shall they insist that only members of their organization be allowed to work at the job in hand? If the employer recognized this, he must go to the trade-union for his labor. He must agree to hire no man who is not a trade-unionist. He may even be asked to collect the union dues.

Against this logic of the "closed shop," Baldwin was as flint. No employer should be compelled to hire or keep men, by any outside party. He should have the liberty which the men themselves asked. If they were free to leave him, he should be free to turn them off. If they were free to seek employment where they would, he should be free to hire whom

he would. The same measure should be meted out to both. There should be the "open shop," to which unionist and non-unionist alike could come, and from which no non-unionist should, for that reason, be turned adrift. To the charge that this freedom meant the destruction of labor organization, Baldwin replied that the most powerful and oldest English unions always had the "open shop," and that our own best railway unions did not even claim the "closed shop." In his address of 1900, he quoted their own published opinion upon this point. Our trade-union "does not interfere with the employee who is not a member, nor with his right to work." Like the English unions, they trust to the obvious advantages which a powerful organization can offer, but respect individual freedom to join or not to join the union.

It was the chief executive of the Firemen's Union who said: "One of the best evidences of the relations between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the railway managers or operators is the fact that we are supplying a great many of our members to-day to the railway companies who are in need of experienced men. They telegraph to our office and ask us to supply the demand."

In his address at Fanueil Hall in 1903, he gave his real reason for preferring freedom in these personal relations. The principle of compulsion endangers the best result in the discipline of organization. The

"open shop"; the unions free to accept or reject "incorporation"; voluntary and not compulsory arbitration, — all meant to him the acceptance of responsibilities which educate those who bear them. He applies a strictly democratic test. These free relations bring in the voice of labor to help determine all that concerns them in the wage-relation. He says the tendency is everywhere the same "toward the extension of collective bargaining with subsidiary boards of voluntary arbitration. The advantages of this system are very obvious in that it is a system founded on an intelligent treatment of each question at issue, and *encourages education*, and as far as we can see to-day is the most advanced method and liable to produce the best results. Collective bargaining and voluntary arbitration are possible, however, *only when the employer recognizes the right of the employed to have a voice in the fixing of wages* and conditions of employment. The recognition of committees of employees is absolutely essential and is judged to be inevitable."

There is nothing new, nothing extraordinary in these views. They have a breadth and practical soundness on which men of divergent views can meet. It would be straining the point to say that he had a "philosophy" of labor and social questions. With clearness and firmness, he did have what was perhaps better, a working principle of solid social value. It is the more to his credit because the swift succession

of heavier and harder responsibilities tended to develop in him quick, personal decisions. I have, he said, to decide so many big things all alone. That, in this country, has been the habit and the genius of the master mind in industry. It is the measure of one's conquering efficiency in business. But will this ready confidence work in a wholly different order of undertakings? Will it work in deciding delicate educational policies? Will it work when decisions have to do with aroused human interests and passions? It is with these also that Baldwin has to cope. In labor contests, in a civic uprising, in securing legislation to drive the harlot out of tenements full of workingmen's families, above all in the race question, he cannot "decide big things all alone." The decision in these human trials must be by many differing minds, and only with that rarest of gifts, forbearance toward those of opposing views. In labor disputes, Baldwin has this gift, as he has it with business rivals. It is the working principle in his entire trade-union policy. Every step is to enable all those concerned, to work together; to get a basis of coöperation and then enlarge it so that every interest has a voice.

His sympathetic acceptance of the joint-agreement, "recognition," and "collective bargaining," is simply that he saw what devices were indispensable to genuine coöperation. It was through them and by their aid, that labor and capital in this day of

combination could be educated together, not only industrially, but socially and democratically.

This is not his final view about trade-unions. He believed it to be the gravest social danger to crush them. He saw that many business men, while talking suavely about "good trade-unions," did not believe in labor organization. They tolerated it under compulsion, or so long as it did not "interfere" with capitalistic management. In their hearts they would gladly be rid of the unions, unless in the form of harmless benefit societies. Baldwin saw in the aggressive rise of some of the largest combinations a direct though half-concealed purpose to rob labor organization of its strength.[1]

His objection to these tactics of capital was, first, "its rank injustice." "We men at the top," he said, "must have combination, we must have our representatives and 'walking-delegates.' We have everything that powerful organization can ask, with the ablest lawyers to do our bidding. Labor, to protect its rights and standards, needs organization, at least as much as we need it. For capital to use its strength and skill to take this weapon from the workingmen and women is an outrage."

But beyond the question of justice was another of great practical moment. If capital refuses to labor what capital asks and takes for itself, what are

[1] The evidence of this is to-day far clearer than when Baldwin first noted it.

the final consequences of that injustice? How, in the long run, is labor to take this defeat of what it believes to be its rights? Those capitalist managers really hostile to the unions said to him in excuse, that the unions checked and hindered the development of business prosperity.

Baldwin had his answer: "Even if that is true, it is better to get rich at a somewhat slower pace than to make millions of wage-earners lose faith in your justice and fairness." If I were to put Baldwin's faith into the fewest possible words, they would be these: he believed in the oneness and solidarity of human interests. He believed we were neither to be blessed nor damned alone or apart. The weal and the woe were for all of us together. This has long been a platitude of moral and religious instructors, but the crush and impact of economic experience are also teaching us how and why our destinies are social and not individual. Less and less are we to have health or wealth or happiness as individuals in seclusion, or as a class. Baldwin did not reason this out. He learned something of it, as we have seen, through his long experience with transportation as the unifying and binding agency in our social system. But far more, he learned through his own human feelings. The very purity and elevation of his life preserved his sympathy and his power to feel not for a clique, not for a class, but for all men. This was his "religion of good will." It is a religion which required in his case

little ritual or institutional expression. He lives it quite as much on Monday as on Sunday. He lives it in his office and on the train. He lives it in the turmoil of a strike and in the treatment of his subordinates. He lives it with the negro, for whom he asked justice as he asked it for the trade-union. It is this religion which gave him the pity and tolerance for the prostitute even while enforcing the law against her.

XVIII

OUR GREATEST PROBLEM

A FRIEND much with him in the South said of Baldwin, that while he had enthusiasm for about everything that came his way, he "*agonized*" over the negro problem. The word is a strong one, but it fairly expresses the intensity of feeling which this grave issue came to inspire in him. After he took service on the Southern Railway in 1894, his private letters are filled with references to this subject. Now he excuses himself for delay in writing to some member of the family because Booker Washington is with him; their plans "absorbing every spare hour of the day." Again, he sends regrets to his wife that he cannot get home for Sunday because of extra conferences on plans to help on southern matters. He went into the South with opinions about the negro, common among New Englanders of his rearing and traditions. It was doubtless better that he had not read much upon the subject. He was too young to carry with him any embittered legacy from the War of Secession. He goes as a business man whose responsibilities compel him to take practical account of the question. He lives and works upon the moving train. From the blackest to the whitest belts, he

meets the negro. He has a special fondness for talking with him. At many points, colored labor enters into the constructive service of the railroad system. In future undertakings, he needed the coöperation of thousands of these negroes.

We have seen one principle to which he adhered. Railroad development was to be based on the growth and well-being of the whole community through which the road passed. There should be no more skinning or skimming of resources. The success of the railroad should be the success of the populations whose life it touched.

From this principle, the negro could not be excluded. In some regions he was as four or five to one against the white. In many places the labor of the negro was the one vital condition of industrial welfare, and was felt to be such by the whites themselves. This admirable business intention first relates Baldwin to the problem. He does not distinguish between white prosperity and black prosperity. If he counts upon the growing traffic of southern cotton mills run by white labor, he counts no less upon the thrift of industries carried on by blacks.

In no position better than his own could he have begun this study. As railroad manager, he was brought into the most natural relation with the business leadership of each neighborhood. He was not a curious and suspected critic from beyond the border, but the practical business man at work in

the South. He was as heartily welcome at the local social clubs and to the family circle as he was at the place of business. He found that no topic was more eagerly or frankly discussed than the social and economic destiny of the negro. "I never tire of this subject," he says, "nor does any one else seem tired of it."

He confessed that he stood in sore need of instruction upon points of which he had never dreamed. As if a child, he had to be taught all that the tragedy of "reconstruction" meant to every man and woman in the Southland. He knew well the stern unanimity with which the South frowns upon "social equality" between the races, but the deeper reasons for this opposition he first learned in those conversations.

There is a saying that every Northerner who goes South to stay, adopts the southern point of view about the negro, but no Southerner who goes North to stay, ever adopts the northern view. The statement is too sweeping, but it holds truth enough to justify it.

As he drops or changes many of his northern impressions, it is only to take on opinions that are exclusively neither of the North nor of the South. The opinions which slowly take form in him are rapidly becoming *national* opinions and not sectional ones. They are opinions which concern the education of black and white alike.

Before dealing with this, one further word should

be said about Baldwin's intellectual approach to the subject. More from accident than from forethought, he takes his evidence in that unalarmed private atmosphere where men and women express their real opinions; where there is neither gallery nor reporter. The unreality of so much of the published literature on the negro in the United States is due to its too exclusive dependence upon public utterances. The spoken and written judgments of politicians and editors are too often taken as ultimate data. These gallery opinions are not to be omitted; they have their place and value in any reasoned conclusion; but if taken alone, they conceal far more than they disclose. The conventional timidity of platform and editorial statements, in times of excitement, is everywhere too well known to require even this caution. But with the negro problem in the South these timidities, with the confusion they carry with them, are a grave menace. This need not be said alone by the outsider. There is no higher type of loyal Southerner than those who dare openly and at some risk to state this weakness. That gallant Confederate soldier and statesman, Dr. J. L. M. Curry, said it with such vigor that one shrinks from quoting his words lest they give offense. He made it a very condition of social progress in the South, that men of influence should drop these hesitations and speak with fearless honesty on every phase of that common life which included both races. In the same

spirit spoke the late Chancellor W. B. Hill of the University of Georgia, Dr. Charles D. McIver of North Carolina, and many others.

Baldwin's first bewilderment was that a man, conspicuous in public life, who had privately given the heartiest praise to Booker Washington and his work "as the real hope of the South," should in an editorial write shiftingly and slightingly of all education for the negro. In much dudgeon Baldwin took this editorial to a common friend and was asked, with cynical good humor, "if editors and politicians in the North are habitually accustomed to express privately what they put into their platforms and before the public." He confessed it was worse in the South, but only because the situation is more sensitive. "In a political fight down here, no man seeking favors can publicly express any opinion about the negro, if that opinion differs very much from the average race-feeling in the community. It does make cowards of some of us, but we can't help it; and when you have been here longer, you will see that it demands very unusual pluck to strike straight out from the shoulder on this color question." With some humbling, Baldwin had to learn in his own widening experience that prudence and forbearance in public expression were virtues of no mean order. This charity came to him with the heavier responsibilities, for the cause of southern education. It came to him through solicitude for others rather than for himself. To hear that

any of the friends, or to know that he himself, had jeopardized the cause by any awkwardness of word or act hurt him like a physical pain. For no one influence was his anxiety keener than for that of Booker T. Washington. Over an important speech of this race-leader, Baldwin would spend hours in discussion, going into minute details of verbal expression. In Dr. Washington's words, "We would spend three or four hours in his library, sometimes not breaking up our conferences until after midnight."

Baldwin remembers that this time-serving of the politicians is not of the South alone. If it is more prevalent there, it is largely because the issue of color is so overpowering in the imagination of the people.[1] The confessed limitations which this grievous exigency carries with it, left upon Baldwin its ineffaceable impression. He would not concentrate his strictures alone upon the South, because he knew that in every spot in the North where a possible balance of power was in the hands of colored men, local politicians would, *in proportion to the political danger*, stoop to the same duplicities. He saw that the whites about a crowded negro section in a city of the North could flame into the same savage fury against the black. Numbers, the fear of black ascendancy and

[1] Look, for example, at the public utterances of aspiring politicians on the "Asiatic question," in California and Oregon before an important election, and at the intentional ambiguity of many expressions on the labor question in the states of the North and East.

economic rivalry, create perils that are human and not geographical.

In spite of every lawless horror, he believed the South had more *kindness* and more real sympathy toward the individual black than was shown in the North. But the supreme question of social justice is neither met nor necessarily touched by personal amiabilities.

Baldwin's first lesson on race-savagery came to him in the West. Our inhumanities toward the Indian were almost too familiar to be exciting. But the stories which came to him about our treatment of the Chinese, after their rights had been solemnly guaranteed by treaty obligations, had novelty enough to rivet the attention. For years they were subjected to incredible assaults and to every form of scandalous mistreatment, from coarse insults to wholesale butchery. In the great majority of these outrages there was scarcely an attempt to punish the assailants.

A good deal of this Baldwin heard in the very regions where the crimes were committed. An incident in the long tragedy occurred just before he reached the West. At Rock Springs, Wyoming, twenty-eight Chinese were murdered, a large number seriously injured, and nearly one hundred and fifty thousand dollars' worth of their property destroyed. It was a nerve-racking picture of inhumanity about which he himself could do nothing.

He could only remember it and ask questions about it. "How is it that a great and strong people can permit these meannesses against small and defenseless minorities? These inoffensive Orientals helped us in a great achievement in railroad building; they are a temperate, hard-working, docile people; why should Christian communities tolerate such cruelties?" is his quandary.

A few years later, in New York City, the same question arose in the treatment of the Jew. But here it was not a reminiscence. It was in a street hard by, in his own city. The followers at the funeral of the Jewish Rabbi Joseph were made objects of gross insult. The Mayor, Seth Low, wrote in August, 1902, asking for an immediate investigation on which action could be based. Baldwin, with five others, took a position upon a committee[1] to report upon the facts to the Mayor. Six weeks later he received from the Mayor the following letter:—

City of New York, Office of the Mayor,
Sept. 17, 1902.

W. H. Baldwin, Jr., Esq.,
128 Broadway,
N. Y. City.

Dear Sir, — Please accept my thanks for the very painstaking and careful report which you have made

[1] The other members of the committee were Edward B. Whitney, Louis Marshall, Thomas M. Mulry, and Nathan Bijur.

to me of the lamentable disturbance upon the East Side in connection with the funeral of Rabbi Joseph. I have taken such action based upon it as seemed to me called for. Such public-spirited service as you have rendered, deserves, and I have no doubt commands, the thanks of the public as well as of the Mayor.

Yours very truly,

SETH LOW,

Mayor.

But a few months had passed, when he was stirred to a white heat of indignation by another event.

In the spring of 1903 came the murderous onslaught in Kischinev, Russia, in which six hundred shops and seven hundred homes were sacked and ruined, large numbers killed and maimed, and ten thousand persons left homeless and destitute. It was but one of many, yet, as the details of this atrocity were verified, the moral revolt was world-wide. In New York City a committee of nearly fifty of the most prominent citizens called for a great meeting in Carnegie Hall to protest against the horrors. Ex-President Cleveland was first to speak, asking, in our protest, that we do not forget our own shameful crimes against the weak (as in Wyoming against Chinese, and against Italians in Louisiana). It was at this gathering that the President of Cornell University cried out: "O Christ! What crimes have

been committed in Thy name against the race which gave Thee to the world!"

But better than any other Edward M. Shepard spoke out the feeling that burned in Baldwin's heart: —

"How shall we best test a government, or a civilization? Believe me, the crucial test is always to be found *in its treatment of minorities.* Where the majority in faith, in power, in fashion, where the majority respects the minority, — those who look differently, those who live differently, those who believe differently from them, — there is the highest civilization. Where you have a government to protect the minority, to protect the unpopular, to protect, if you please, those who without crime or wrong are odious, that government is the best government. . . . Is there no persecution *here* of minorities, or of creeds, or of races that are in minorities, that for one reason or another are unpopular? Yes. Have we Americans never ourselves shared, or seen other Americans share, in like persecution? How many weeks ago is it when, south of Grand Street, in this very borough, on the occasion of the funeral of a revered rabbi, followed with grief by thousands and ten thousands of our most useful citizens, you had an outburst, not bloody, but as infamous in its lesser way as the crime which we condemn to-night?"

Behind the speakers, with two others (one a brother of President Taft), was Baldwin, doing as

usual the hardest work in giving practical utility to the meeting. It was he who offered the resolutions, eager to get out of the massed protest some remnant of efficient result.

I have quoted Mr. Shepard's words because they are so true to Baldwin's thought on this over-shadowing issue of race-behavior. Whether it be the Japanese or Hindoo on the Pacific coast, the Indians on their reservations, or the negroes North and South, no definition of civilization and good government is better than this: "That government and that civilization are highest which mete out to minorities and to the weak the most even-handed justice." What Baldwin adds to this is even more important. He was not content with defining civilization or good government: his real concern was how to get the nobler standard realized in our social life. He knew it was to be through education; but of what sort? He felt that in our own South, the beginning of a great remedy had been found. In this confidence, for nearly ten years he gave himself with unsparing devotion to that special work. In this chapter I have dwelt upon the larger issue, because his desire for fair play was in no way confined to the negro. It was to the "disadvantaged man," wherever he was found, that his heart went out.[1]

[1] It was this larger race-interest which enlisted him in the work of founding a civic club in the lower East Side of New York City. After an ingenious provision to make it impossible for any politi-

cian to exploit the Club for partisan ends, its chief purpose is announced: —

"1. Our object is to unite those who are interested in the betterment of the social, economic and political conditions of the lower East Side.

"2. We believe that the needs and interests of our section of the city can best be promoted by uniting public spirited citizens, *irrespective of racial, national, sectarian, vocational or political affiliations*, into an organization to accomplish this purpose."

XIX

LEARNING HIS LESSON

In spite of a dashing self-reliance in the face of difficulties, Baldwin could be submissive when their greatness and complexity opened to him. It must be said, I think, that he began by making a dash at the negro question in the South. It was the dash of one who had but the slightest inkling of the concealed and sunless depths which race-questions present. In saying this of him, we are only describing almost all other human beings who first approach this most momentous of all our problems: the problem of race-understanding and sympathy. It is not an issue to be "tackled," like an affair of railroad traffic or road-construction. It is something to be lived into, like the acquisition of a new habit of thought and life. Baldwin finally realized this, and one of his first steps toward self-instruction was to write out in considerable fullness bits of history and opinion on the subject.

He turned to such authorities as he could reach, in the endeavor to get a mental picture of the slave in our American life. By what fatal chance did the first ones come? In those days, was anybody properly "to blame" for it? Was there anything peculiar in

the fate of the African that he should be bought and sold in our markets? When was the first legal sanction to the traffic? What was the origin of the first emancipation movement? What has been the fate of the American Colonization Society in Liberia? Relatively to population, is the black so decreasing as to indicate an easier problem for the future, or is it to be harder as the years go by?

It is points like these, with much stress upon statistical ratios, which he develops in notes under the title, "The Negro in the United States of America." He is much astonished to be told by Chancellor Hill of Georgia that negroes still live who were brought straight from Africa a few months before the Civil War. These notes do not add to the general student's knowledge, but they help Baldwin to form his picture, and therefore interest us. He learns that whites were sold in the seventeenth century as negroes were sold; that the North was for generations as unconscious of the wrong of slavery as the South; that the proportion of colored to the entire population has sunk since 1790 from 18.88 per cent to 11.05 per cent in 1900; that from 1860 to 1900 the whites increased one hundred and fifty per cent, while the negroes' growth is but one hundred per cent; this difference resulting chiefly from immigration. That the whites of the nation are thus relatively gaining, should, he thinks, make the problem easier for the future. He wonders if this gain of white pre-

dominance will be checked by the rise of the sanitary standard in our cities. "To stop the excessive negro mortality is to increase their relative numbers."

He makes a careful classification of occupations among native whites, foreign-born, and negroes. What are the tendencies in this occupational activity? Does it tend toward the farm or away from it? Are industrial chances diminishing for the negro?

He tries to defend the negro against the pessimistic conclusions drawn from his excessive criminal record, on the ground that anything like equal justice is withheld from him.[1] He admits, however, that the criminal record is so bad as to excite alarm. "But how," he asks, "could the actual slave traditions be so abruptly shattered and *not* leave this plague of trouble?" Whatever its evils, slavery was a discipline and a constraint. All that was organic in this relation was suddenly destroyed by the Civil War. And yet he writes, "Throughout the four years of that strife, when the negroes were left in charge of the homes of the whites, there is no record of a single murder or a single crime that could be called an outrage on the part of the negro slaves, and a monument has been erected by Southern whites to the faithful slaves."

[1] In his own words, "By the census of 1890 there were 9 native white prisoners in jail to every 10,000 of the white population, and 33 negroes to every 10,000 of the negro population, — but as negroes are committed for petty offenses in much greater proportion than the whites, the comparison is unfair, they have less opportunity for pardon."

This lingering fidelity deserves all the tribute it inspires; but as the constraints dropped from the black masses, nothing was left in their place. The mistaken policies of reconstruction filled the negro mind with conceptions of liberty for which he had no measure of acquired aptitude. They threw upon him immediate economic responsibilities, for the meeting of which, only a minority had the least preparation. Of political capabilities not the first rudiments had been acquired.

With these familiar features of the situation, Baldwin struggles in his effort to see them all in some large social relation. He does not flinch from any darkest aspect of the story. On the whole, he thinks, if measured from its far-off African origins, it is a story of a steadily uprising race. In spite of every curse, slavery lifted the race, as freedom will lift it further still. Baldwin's main hope is in the now assured fact that the negro under freedom has proved his case. Not that the *mass* has yet given this proof, but that a steadily growing minority has met the real tests of civilization by property ownership, by better morals, and by so much educational acquirement as to show that further opportunity will lift him higher still. Based on census and other authorities, he states, in too great detail for the present purpose, the growth of educational expenditure and of property possession among the negroes. By any test that can be applied to it, the educational uplift is about as prom-

ising as any race can show. Baldwin's comparative tables give results which Professor Kelley Miller of Howard University has put in these words: —

"Within forty years of only partial opportunity, while playing, as it were, in the back yard of civilization, the American negro has cut down his illiteracy by over fifty per cent; has produced a professional class, some fifty thousand strong, including ministers, teachers, doctors, editors, authors, architects, engineers, and is found in all higher lines of listed pursuits in which white men are engaged; some three thousand negroes have taken collegiate degrees, over three hundred being from the best institutions in the North and West established for the most favored white youth; there is scarcely a first-class institution in America, excepting some three or four in the South, that is without colored students, who pursue their studies generally with success, and sometimes with distinction; negro inventors have taken out four hundred patents as a contribution to the mechanical genius of America; there are scores of negroes who, for conceded ability and achievements, take respectable rank in the company of distinguished Americans."[1]

[1] An institution to which Baldwin looked with great hope was the National Negro Business League. Its tenth annual session has just closed (August, 1909) in Louisville, Ky. In his presidential address Dr. Washington dealt with its results. The report adds: "No little of this progress was attributed to the influence of the Business League. When it was organized ten years ago there were

The tables marking the progress in property ownership are, at least from a material aspect, more impressive still.

This was all the work of the investigator trying to inform himself in order that his practical duties may be better met. It was this twofold painstaking, that of the inquirer and of the administrator, that gave him what a southern writer calls "Baldwin's true social statesmanship." It was this that brought to him from time to time letters like the following: —

WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
October 14, 1903.

MY DEAR BALDWIN, —

Are you to be down near Washington any time soon? There are two or three matters connected with education in the South and similar subjects,

only two negro banks in the United States; now there are forty-seven. A handful of drug-stores were then owned and operated by negroes; they now number over two hundred business enterprises, small and large, reaching a total of over ten thousand. A few scattered insurance companies of ten years ago now number eighty-five, and are placed on a sound financial basis according to the principles of the science and mathematics of insurance. The great bulk of this progress, according to Dr. Washington, is located in the South, where the negro lives and where his destiny lies. There are at present four hundred local business leagues in different parts of the country, most of them in the South. The leagues in several of the Southern States have organized themselves into State organizations, which hold annual meetings and carry on a campaign for the economic education of the people."

which I should like to have a chance of talking over with you.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

It is what drew from Edgar Gardner Murphy the words: "How I do long now and then for the public popular power of a big human impulse. And when I do, I thank God for Baldwin."

XX

REFLECTIONS UPON A HOT-HOUSE

This excessive scruple lest the smallest thing go wrong is the severest proof that men can give of self-forgetting interest in a cause. These were the years of Baldwin's most unremitting and exhausting toil for his own corporation. He knew that for *him*, or during his connection with the South, no extra dollar would come back because of any hour's work spent upon these educational schemes. The curve was too vast to include a single selfish personal advantage. His fidelities were poured out because they were in him, ready for any service that moved his sympathy and convinced his judgment.

The first definite appeals made to him in 1894 got no response. Even Booker Washington, bringing to Baldwin a letter from his father, got nothing but a promise "to keep the matter in mind." He would "some time go to Tuskegee and look it over." If it seemed to him "the real thing," he would do what he could. After some weeks, he spent a day at the school. Dr. Washington considers it the most epoch-making day in the history of the institution. His

own estimate of Baldwin's helpfulness is given in another chapter.[1]

Among the qualifications that he brought, there is one which I find very difficult to state. It has to do with the quantity and intensity of emotional interest before the thorny perplexities which this race issue roused in him. That at all times he stood ready to spend half the night, to make long journeys, to meet committees, to write letters, and shape plans of action, is a sufficient sign of devotion. There is still something which these do not express. "Morality touched by emotion" is among the definitions of religion, and throws perhaps some light upon the trait I have in mind. At one of the southern meetings at which were gathered large numbers of southern and northern educators, the late Dr. McIver was making an impassioned plea, in which he had shown the process of inducing the legislature to vote a

[1] At the May meeting in 1895, Baldwin was elected Trustee on the resignation of General O. O. Howard. He felt himself too ill prepared and did not accept until May, 1897. He was then so far equipped that Robert C. Ogden says of him: "He became the dominating personality on the Board." He was the active leader in securing special acts of Congress and of the Alabama Legislature to obtain the grant of fifty thousand acres of land for Tuskegee and the Alabama Industrial School, in which he also took keen interest.

Of the Carnegie gift of six hundred thousand dollars to Tuskegee, Mr. Ogden says: "There is little doubt that Baldwin's influence added to that of Washington was a powerful factor."

In February, 1902, the General Education Board was organized with Baldwin as its chairman.

higher tax-rate for education. It was a speech as racy with humor as it was grave with pathos. It was an outpouring which one thought of, not as an address, but as an entreaty for immediate and common consecration. At its close, my eye fell accidentally upon Baldwin's face. Half mechanically he joined in the applause, but his features were as if some spiritual furnace had been fired in him. It was a face so charged with quiet intensity as to reveal strange and unexpected depths.

On a later occasion at Tuskegee, I saw another instance of this self-revealing which gave me a final and convincing picture of the man's emotional reserves. Their power over the observer who knew him was the certainty that these wells of feeling lay so close to the springs of action.

The professor of agriculture at Tuskegee had one day explained to me the influence of his simple object-lessons in rousing the intellectual interest in boys and girls to whom the printed page had little or no meaning. Hardly a year before, there had come to him a lad whose attempts to meet even the lowest literary requirements of the school had failed. Could he be permitted to sit in the "class for farming"? This permission was granted. "It was months," said the instructor, "before I ever asked him a question. He came to me one day, asking, in a shamefaced way, if I would some time go out to see what he had tried to do. I went with him. But

rather than describe what I found, I wish you would go yourself to see it. When you come back, I will finish the story."

Following directions, I soon came upon a small building which proved to be a hot-house. It was filled with thrifty growths for garden and field use in the red soil of the region round about. There were ingenious devices for studying the effect of various soils upon all manner of roots. There were many soil-mixtures in which these experiments were being tried. The mechanical structure inside and out was literally patchwork. Doors, sides, posts, boxes, glass, were from objects that had been broken and thrown to the rubbish-heap. From these piles of waste, the boy had picked his glass, boards, roofing, window-sash, and piping. Empty tomato cans, old pails and abandoned lamps served him for furnace and heating tubes. He had invented cross-section boxes in which he could watch the root-development in his different soil mixtures.

This hot-house was a masterpiece bursting with new life. It had been gathered from rubbish-heaps, growing in the boy's overtime into this strictly artistic result. The forty or fifty thriving specimens in it were his own kind of a book. This sort of spelling, reading, and writing neither puzzled nor shamed him. It was his kind of arithmetic, in which the "sums" and figures left him no headaches. The hot-house was crammed with problems, but it was his delight to solve them.

All this, with stark amazement, was the thing I looked upon. Here he had come, day after day, when the tasks were over, striving to justify his tolerated presence in the school. Here he had written his own certificate of fitness to be a learner with others at Tuskegee.

When I returned to the lad's teacher in this department, he was very eager to tell me results. "That boy's work," he said, "is so good, that I already use it for purposes of instruction with advanced students. Would you believe it, I have brought his plants and boxes into my class-room to show what experimental science can do to turn this whole state into a garden!"

In listening to these words, I was half consciously thinking of somebody else, to whom it was sure to be good news. I asked if any one had taken Mr. Baldwin to see the hot-house, and was glad to hear that he knew nothing of it. More than to any other of the visitors, I wanted to show him this achievement. He went with me, full of talk about some new hopes that a rich gift was in store for the school. I had said no word about the object we were to visit. I wanted him to come upon it with all its surprises. As we came up, I stopped him to say that this was what he was to inspect. While he was examining it, I told him the boy's story as I had learned it. He looked long and piercingly at the structure, examining it greedily inside and out. As he turned away,

I saw his eyes were full of tears. As he brushed them off, he said, "That stands for the great hope." [1]

These two illustrations are very simple, but they disclose what one cannot leave unsaid of all that the cause meant to him. His answering emotion to Dr. McIver's entreaty; his agitation before the triumph of an unnoticed colored boy, were both exact symbols of his self-giving. This hot-house stood to him for vast undiscovered capacity in the negro race. This is what any one would have seen in it who could see at all. What this boy had done, multitudes of others could also do. As this rare utility lay concealed under the black skin, so, in some form, it was hidden away in thousands of others. How could it be reached, awakened, and made to live? This was Baldwin's educational problem. He loved a story told him by Edward Atkinson of another colored boy who had learned in laboratory work to cope successfully with the chemistry of the dairy. In one of the Western states, he passed the required examination for such service, only to be refused when his color was discovered. Independently, he went to work and showed such superiority in his product on the market, that the appointing committee suddenly became "color-blind" and gave the young man his position.

[1] Lest my memory should be at fault in some detail, I have submitted this account to Dr. Washington.

It was Baldwin's unfailing delight to hear from Hampton, Calhoun, Tuskegee, and other schools all the stories of boys and girls who had "made good" in spite of flagrant deficiencies in literary requirements. It was not that he undervalued the so-called "higher education," but he came to feel very keenly that the literary tests of mental and moral capacity were dangerously deficient. The real power in the child, white or black, might be left forever untouched by the literary appeal. Reading-book, speller, and even the multiplication table, might prove helpless in the first awakening. He wondered "what would have become of this boy of the hot-house if his only trial had been with the copy-book methods of the literary school?" Locked within him, like gold in a vein, was this rich deposit of faculty. All that could be done for him, and all that he could do for others, depended upon the discovery and the discipline of this gift. The picture-teaching in that agricultural class-room was a language he was quick to understand. It saved the lad's soul by finding it, as it may save innumerable others by the same discovery.

This was what Baldwin saw. As he observed the unfolding of this boy's gift, he observed it, in some kind and degree, for a race. He had at this time been several years trustee at Tuskegee. He had seen in scores of cases the same glad result. In dressmaking, carpentry, iron-work, tailoring; indeed, in the thirty

odd industries through which the student gets his training, he had watched this discovery of faculty until it came to be a kind of axiom with him that "no child was without these saving capabilities." The difficulty was rather to find educators with wit and humility enough to guide these processes of discovery.

If the negro in these schools first turned him to such problems, he came also to think of the white race as also needing far more freedom from the supremacy of its literary traditions in education. In the autumn of 1902, he was asked by an educational association in Richmond, Virginia, to speak upon this subject. He made a plea for a "good country school," whether white or black, in the rural districts of the South in these terms: —

"I believe that every school should be located on at least ten acres of land, that it should be provided with competent teachers whose residence should be on the school-grounds; that the school term should be not less than eight months; that the school-house should extend its influence as many miles as possible, so that, especially in sparsely settled regions, it may be supported by the largest possible number of scholars. Concentration is essential to efficiency. Segregation and the building of inferior, small school-houses supported by few scholars tends to inefficiency. The school should be the centre of many social activities. It should be made attractive and

appeal to the child. About the school-building there should be a garden where nature studies and the science of agriculture could be taught. Within the building the simpler trades and industries should be taught to the boys, and the domestic sciences to the girls."

He is full of graceful apologies for speaking as a common practical man before professional educators on their own subject. He takes refuge behind an important name in the pedagogical world, the Hon. Michael Sadler of England. By wide consent, he said, Mr. Sadler was among the few of highest distinction. He had looked carefully at educational institutions in the United States, including the South. It was there, he told Mr. Baldwin, that he found his real rewards for the long journey. In Hampton, Tuskegee, and their kind, he saw the hope of a future race-training that the world must follow. It was the international and race significance of this education that impressed Dr. Sadler "as the most important work now done in the world." It was already implanted in the Philippines and in Cuba. Germany had invited and set at work Tuskegee students in her African colonies to grow cotton. It was to Booker Washington that Lord Grey turned for help in the heaviest administrative burden in South Africa. In a letter written by a famous London publicist to Dr. Shaw we see the value set upon Tuskegee: —

London, February 11, 1903.

Dear Dr. Shaw, —

Last night I saw Lord Grey, who has just had a letter from Mr. Roosevelt, of whom he is a great admirer. This led to a conversation about South Africa which I think would interest you. Lord Grey has just returned from South Africa where, as you know, the native question is the crux of everything. He is the chief man in Rhodesia, and is naturally immensely interested in solving the great problem which Booker Washington has solved better than any man in the world. He enquired very anxiously from me whether there was any possibility of inducing Booker Washington to pay a visit to South Africa to go through the whole of our territories there, and to report to the Chartered Company, in the first case, and to the Government, in the second, what are the best methods to adopt in order to raise, educate, and civilize the black man.

There would, of course, be no difficulty about remuneration and expenses. The Chartered Company do not do things meanly, and I think it would be a splendid thing if the most forward school of British Imperialists had to send over for an American colored man in order that they might sit at his feet and learn wisdom as to how they should deal with the majority of the population of South Africa.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) W. T. Stead.

In his Richmond address, Baldwin enforces his plea for a new and enlightened country school by using for illustration the coöperative work of Sir Horace Plunkett, in Ireland. It was through this man and his splendid service for rural education that ex-President Roosevelt was influenced to appoint his commission to study and report upon rural conditions and better education in the United States. The work of Sir Horace is in the spirit of Hampton and Tuskegee. It aims to put modern science and organization at the service of those living on the farm. It was this, together with the possibilities of coöperation, that fired Baldwin's imagination. After an evening address given by him before the American Economic Association at Ithaca, N. Y., in December, 1903, I sat with him at the hotel until his midnight train. To the last minute, his talk was of Sir Horace's work and of its chances in our own country, beginning in the South. He had heard that it was this enlightened coöperative education which has turned Denmark from weakness into strength and prosperity, giving the land to those whose life and prosperity depend upon its most efficient use.

He had heard that coöperation in Denmark applied to country life *has stopped the unhealthy rush from country to city.* To do that is probably to accomplish the most fundamental social reform in our time. By relieving the unnatural pressure upon the city, it at least relieves every baffling

problem of the national life — crime, prostitution, poverty, and unemployment.

Baldwin thus caught sight of this hope of an education and a method which so reaches country life as to make it prosperous and therefore — "too interesting to leave." While this is also a hope for white populations, he felt that it held still greater promise for the negro.

XXI

THE EDUCATIONAL HOPE

His belief that economic forces are primary in this question attracted him to Tuskegee and its methods. He observed everywhere in the South that the prestige of the colored man among all the best whites was roughly proportioned to the property that the negro possessed. To own his house and a bit of land; to have money at the bank and to be able to pay his bills, were recognized as something more than individual possessions; they were a social possession because the whole community was richer for the acquired values of each personal unit. The negro who could produce a surplus and apply it to further production was exercising the social virtues. He was using good judgment. He was practising forethought and prudence. He was to this extent free from the vices of the sot, the loafer, the gambler, and the sexual vagrant. To overcome these vices was the first step toward the stability of family life. The only mean jealousy of these prosperities among the negroes is mainly among those who represent the lower, ignorant order of the whites. As education reaches them, they too will welcome the negro's welfare.

In an address before the American Social Science

Association at Saratoga, 1899, Baldwin gave a persuasive statement of these views. He insisted that a sort of slavery was then rife, especially in the Gulf States. Wherever there was utter economic dependence, with organized indebtedness to the truck-store, there the negroes were still enslaved. "We know the way," he says, "Tuskegee and Hampton have proved it. It is the duty of our whole people to take up the burden. Effective organization to aid in carrying out the principles of Hampton and Tuskegee is the present problem of Negro Education." The task, he says, is to get the mass of the ignorant and economically dependent free from their present-day bondage. Time and education alone will do this; but what *kind* of education? He answers by turning to Hampton and Tuskegee. As trustee of the latter school he uses it for illustration. He says: —

"Thirty years ago General Armstrong's inspiration planted the seed at Hampton. The result of his work the whole world knows; but it remained for a Negro to transplant his work to the black belt of the South. Booker T. Washington was his interpreter, the Moses; Tuskegee his creation, his life, and the hope of the race. Come with me a moment and let us feel the atmosphere at Tuskegee. A thousand boys and girls from fifteen to twenty years of age; a corps of teachers, all negroes. Here is a building for the trades; the blacksmiths are at the forges; the

tinsmiths at their benches; carpenters and wheelwrights in the shops; the shoemakers with their lasts; the sawyers in the mills; below we see the brickmakers at the kilns; the farmers in the fields sowing the crops, reaping the harvests, caring for the herds, or working in the dairies. Here is the agricultural building, where scientific farming is taught, not only for the benefit of the negro student, but for the benefit of the white farmer as well.

"The girls, too, are at their work, making dresses, hats, or clothes for the students, laundering, or learning to cook or serve. Forty buildings stand about, planned and built by the boys. And out of it all comes a modest air of hope, of ambition, and of zeal to work with the hands. They are taught to have simple tastes and few wants; wants that can be satisfied. The Tuskegee student is taught how to work with the hands, and he has to work hard. He is taught the dignity of manual labor; and with this industrial teaching the students are taught from the books in all studies suitable for their needs."

He says again: "The negro, too, has social sensibilities. He will never complain against any white man, North or South, because he is not invited to dine at his table, sit in his pew, or dine with his daughter. But the negro ought not to be expected to accept that interpretation of 'social equality' which would rob him of political and civil rights, as well as of educational and industrial opportunity."

In accepting the facts of this undivided destiny, he did not shrink from its obvious and most bristling corollaries. If both were to be housed in a common country, it did not mean to him that the two races were to remove all barriers that limit social equality. He believed that the hope of the negro's future was that his own race should grow blacker and not whiter. He was not to lose himself and his racial individuality by bleaching into the white. Every original virtue in the negro variation was to be developed. Such greatness as it could win, should be the valor of his own race, and not the shared legacy of the white. He said many times that the best negroes he knew held this opinion. As they build up a social life of their own; as they more and more do business at markets of their own creating; as the inevitable segregation increases, the self-respecting leaders would, he believed, more and more accept this view.

There is much bravery in this optimism, but there are no more eminent leaders among the blacks than those who believe as he believed. Professor Kelley Miller is one of these. He writes:[1] "The Negro is building up his own society based on character, culture, and the nice amenities of life, and he can find ample social satisfaction within the limits of his own race." There is not a shade of difference between Baldwin's views on "social equality" and the view

[1] *Race Adjustment*, p. 119.

expressed by this colored professor. Both say that social intercourse must be left to the decisions of personal taste, but the principle underlying social equality must be consistent. It must not be one thing for the white man and another for the black. If there is to be no forced equality, then the white must thrust no inequalities on the black that he would not apply to members of his own race.

Before Baldwin committed himself to Tuskegee, he had learned one lesson, from seeing the weakness and the helplessness of the younger generation of negroes. At one time this had chilled him by its apparent hopelessness. The discipline of slavery was almost gone. The younger generation, with little or no discipline, had come. Whether in the towns or in the black belt, to a fraction only did home-life give any discipline whatever. What, he asks, can drill this coming multitude of boys and girls into habits that will make them serviceable to their families or to society? What can save them from debt, from gambling, from whiskey and cocaine, from petty crimes and vice? In the shadow of these difficulties, he went to Tuskegee. His first day there gave him the promise of an answer. He looked at the record of those who had taken its instruction and were making their way in the world. It was upon the whole a record to stir the pride of any race. It is true they were a selected body of students, who had come because of their hunger for improvement. Some had

been weeded out. But this was the way of white schools as well. Tuskegee proved all that organized opportunity ever can prove anywhere or for any race. Until Tuskegee triumphed, the wisest men were saying, "Oh yes, Hampton succeeded because it was founded and controlled by whites. To organize education and sagaciously administer it is beyond the power of the negro." "But here," said Baldwin at Saratoga, "is Tuskegee, without a white instructor on its lists. Its upbuilding and its guidance are in the hands of black men. Its success is their success. If a single tree of their planting and nurturing can bear such fruit, they should be planted in every state of the South." The fruit may hang as rich and heavy in a hundred other schools as in this.

This first day became a red-letter day in his calendar. In his ten years' service for that institution, his faith deepened, that for the actual and pressing needs of the negro, its practical and humbler ways were the ways of wisdom. It was this type of education that he also wanted for the white South. If the negro's need of it was more pressing, it was only because it lay a little closer to his necessities. If in this divided opinion he stood with Tuskegee as against its critics, it was not without sympathy for ideals that others held. From his principle that every man should have, in quantity and quality, all the higher training that his faculty and his usefulness required, he never departed. For nothing did he strive harder than to get

a working sympathy in the influential South for the negro's education. He knew that this appreciation and sympathy were necessary. He knew as well that coöperation would come no faster than the actual evidence of success to which Hampton and Tuskegee could point. To have colored graduates scattered everywhere in the South doing their part well as teachers, traders, farmers, foremen, or professional men, was the one way to convince reasonable men.

In the spirit of Hampton and Tuskegee, he advised these students to stand by the South and bear their part in the great industrial development that is already hers, yet only in its beginnings. He advises this because, upon the whole, and for the average colored man, the chances there are in his favor. If the North is chosen, it means the city, where the death-rate for the negro is an appalling record. It means slum-life for the many. It means fatal access to the organized vices and every form of exploitation by quacks and commercial sharpers. The few will escape these risks, the many are desperately exposed to them. Because the race as a whole is ill-prepared for these perils, it is the policy of common sense to train their youth for service in smaller towns and country districts in the South. They are told the truth in these schools, that northern hospitality is less patient and less gracious than that of the South. In spite of all the lawless and frenzied fury against individuals by fire, rope, or gun, the South is more

considerate, more distinctly benevolent to the colored individual than is the North.

Plain matter-of-fact considerations such as these determine Hampton and Tuskegee policies. It is the policy of immediate availability, of favorable chances for the man and woman of ordinary gifts.

So far as these schools do their proper work, he said, *to that extent* is there a "solution," — a solution in the sense that those who get the discipline which these institutions furnish, become citizens who find their place on the positive, cultural side of society. Almost without exception, they go to that constructive service which secures and develops the common life. They go out among the builders and not among the wreckers of society.

But the eight millions of southern negroes are touched by these influences only on the outer fringe. "The problem," as he saw it, was to make the Tuskegee discipline race-wide and race-deep. In the coming century, he says, "let no child escape." What Tuskegee has done for the happy few, let it, through a thousand other centres, do for all. This is the safety of the negro, but it is every whit as much the safety of the white.

"I do not," he says, "plead for black more than I plead for white education." In his own words, "The South cannot rise unless the negro rises. Nor can the negro rise unless the white man is educated too. So long as the negro is down, the white man will

stay down. . . . Eight million ignorant negroes must be an eternal drag on their white neighbors. And these neighbors, if ignorant, will not permit the negro to prosper unless they too are educated and prosper."

This luminous recognition of the solidarity of social destinies requires more than a passing word. There are still those who believe that the colored race cannot be allowed to remain in this country. It must be "deported." If we ask where adequate, unappropriated, fertile spaces are to be found, or what societies are ready to welcome nine millions of people so objectionable that they must be got out of this country, we have no answer. There are stammering guesses about Liberia, Hayti, and even the Congo with its million exterminated blacks in King Leopold's short control. Permission has been asked in South America, but it meets with swift refusal. It is not claimed that the negro wants to go, nor is there a scintilla of evidence that the white South wants him to go. Baldwin maintained at the Social Science meeting, that deportation was unworthy of serious discussion.

If "deportation" is dismissed, it leaves the single issue that, in some way, the two races must occupy one country. They have to learn probably the highest and hardest of all arts: the art of living together with decency and forbearance. Nothing will so test the sincerities of our religion, our moral

obligations, or even our common self-respect, as will the exigencies of this greatest of all our problems.

Baldwin rested his hopes upon these two great schools and their ever wider and larger extension because they give a basis for that economic and social coöperation which was to him the key to all "solutions."

XXII

WORKING TOGETHER

THE overworked word "coöperation" best represents Baldwin's feeling about the next more probable steps in social and race amelioration. In the chapter on "Labor and Capital" we saw something like dogmatic certainty on his part that a get-together policy can meet any difficulty between managers and men, if it act in time and with resolute exclusion of all lying on both sides, so that confidence is established between the parties.

His hope for peace among the races in this country also centred in coöperation, and the main problem was to get the right people working together. How, from every section, black and white, can the best men get together; how can they learn to work for a common end which includes the good of all? He knew that this was a task for decades, and that only first steps had been taken on the long journey. He put it very simply: In working out the economic and educational problems, "can the basis of agreement be extended, and the plague of disagreement be diminished?" With time, patience, and good will, can the elements of conflict be lessened, while those of unity and forbearance are strengthened? To do

this, the negro leadership and the white leadership must have a minimum of fundamentals on which they can act together. There must be a common footing for race reciprocities; a common footing of beliefs about education, about social and political responsibility — about all that concerns the deeper necessities of life. Are the points of union between black and white increasing in this country? Are there more and more points on which they can agree? Baldwin believed this to be a fact. He also believed that industrial education was the surest agency to broaden and deepen these agreements. He was won to Tuskegee, not only because of its distinctive training, but also because it was the intellectual and moral temper of Dr. Washington to seek peace with all men rather than strife; to dwell on the harmonies and not on the discords in social relationships; to lay unwearied emphasis on "duties" rather than on "rights." This has an almost lonely distinction among those fighting for a great cause in this or any other time. There is no book, scarcely a speech, in which Washington does not illustrate this fundamental method of all-embracing good will. He has just written, for example, in the "Outlook" about "The Negro's Life in Slavery." The theme offers him every chance to dwell on the white man's inhumanity and truculence. The ferocities are all there in the documents, and the cruelties are perfectly familiar. But in the present day he finds no

good reason to flaunt them before men. To dwell among these past savageries is to preserve an imagery that should be forgotten.

Who, asks Dr. Washington, is responsible for slavery in America? We have been told that it was the captain of a Dutch ship in 1619, and that England compelled the South to adopt and preserve the institution. Many in the North think the southern whites were responsible. The South generally thinks that the North had equal blame with the South, which it surely had. But Booker Washington has a broader and more generous answer than any of these. In the question of blame and responsibility, he does not omit his own race. He goes far back to African chiefs, whose business it was to sell their own people to slave-traders.

It is this negro leader who tells us that no harsher judgment was ever pronounced against slavery than by the great Southerners of his own state in the early days. Nor did any one work harder or sacrifice more toward emancipation of the negro than these same Virginians.[1] It was this spirit that caught and held Baldwin's loyalty. He knew that only in that spirit was any great and saving policy of "working together" possible.

[1] The full and elaborate proof of this, substantiated by the highest northern authorities, may be found in the recent dispassionate and delightful volume by Beverley B. Munford, *Virginia's Attitude toward Slavery and Secession.* Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.

It was during his hardest work for Tuskegee that an incident arose which gave Baldwin a telling illustration of what a refusal to coöperate means in modern community life. Like nothing else, the ravages of certain diseases bring home to us the stark futility of trusting for protection to individual action alone. The solidarity of disease will force us to coöperate, if nothing else can. During recent years investigations from many sources have brought out the ruthless devastation of the blacks by venereal and pulmonary diseases. I have even heard a lecture in a hall of one of our best universities in which the speaker put before his hearers the sickening story of this death-toll. The increased migration of the negro to the meanest and most dangerous portions of the large town and city, and his return, infected with disease, to country districts, were among the ghastlier evidences with which this speaker dealt.

In point of fact and statistical presentation, it did not differ materially from what Professors Wilcox, DuBois, and other trustworthy students have told us. This lecture had, however, one exclusive distinction: this race slaughter was gravely put before us as a "remedy." In this race-ruin by sexual and lung distempers we were to welcome the solution of the problem. The whites need not worry. We have only to stand apart and watch the consuming death-rate of the black. In Mr. Pickett's new volume we are told that for one hundred million

dollars a year, we may pack them off to Africa in the next generation. To our lecturer, this was an idle waste of excellent money. Every dollar of it could be saved by allowing them to commit suicide through the most contagious of diseases.

While we were listening to this hardy philanthropist, some of the listeners were wondering what, meantime, was to be the fate of the white race? To what immunity should the rest of us look? Through all our social texture, some nine millions of these people are woven into our common life. They will not rot out *alone*. If they are allowed to rot, the white neighbor will rot with them. If he does not rot *out*, he will suffer inconceivable impairment and hurt. On no such fantastic terms does our social or sanitary safety depend. We shall be well and strong together, or we shall be weak and ill together.

In another connection Booker Washington has written a paragraph which we shall forget at our peril. In it he says to the whites, "It is not so much this problem of what you will do with the negro, as what the negro will do with you and your civilization. The negro can afford to be wronged. The white man cannot afford to wrong him." If, for our own sakes, we cannot afford to be brutal or unjust to the weaker race, even less can we afford to have him decay by disease in a community life to which we are vitally united. Of our legal status toward the negro, Edgar Gardner Murphy wrote this great

sentence: "We are all upon the average no safer than the lowliest of our citizens." Of our national health and vigor these words convey at least as deep a warning and as wide a truth.

The one shining lesson which the new civics, aided by science, has for us is, that with "clean milk," proper housing, and the whole cheering effort to raise the standard of life and security, we must have informed coöperation of the entire community. The degree of coöperation marks the limits of this progress. If the farmers refuse to work with those who fight against dirty milk, to that extent is there failure and danger to society. If the tenement home will not coöperate with those at war against tuberculosis, just so far will the white plague claim its victims. No cunning material invention, from telephone to air-ship, will outrank this discovery of the social interdependence of those causes which sicken us or heal us. We shall sometime learn that this oneness of interest is just as true politically or economically. We can see even now that it is true of our unavoidable race-affiliations.

Death by tuberculosis is appallingly frequent among American negroes. If the curse is to be checked, it will be by the help of colored physicians who practice among their own race. This brings us to the incident referred to, and makes intelligible Baldwin's comments on one "man of science" in the South. In the many meetings to consider this

contagious fatality among the negroes was one in a southern city. The colored physicians were eager to act. Not an effective step was possible without organization. All the necessary research and investigation assumed the coöperation of those nearest to the source of the disease, but the available scientific resources were in the hands of white physicians. It was a leader among these who refused flatly to meet a colored doctor upon any board for common work. It was a life-and-death matter, he admitted, that tuberculosis be studied and that the negroes be taught the ways of health, but he, as a white man, would have nothing to do in such a relation with a group of black physicians.

Here is a question of applying science to save, not alone the black, but a thickly populated city, from the dangers of a subtle and wasting contagion — a contagion that does not recognize the color-line; that fastens impartially upon those of high and those of low degree. This incident came when Baldwin had so far learned his lesson as to see that progress was blocked at the point where coöperation was refused. Here was no question of the equalities or of miscegenation. It was, as Baldwin thought, a question of scientific and moral obligation to the safety of a community. Is science, he asked, *white?* Is its practice limited to the strong and the favored? "Science," says Huxley, "is organized common sense." Is a thing so precious to be reserved for exclusive uses?

Later, Baldwin was given this reason for the doctor's refusal: "If he had consented to act, even for so good a cause, with negro physicians, it would in some mysterious way have made 'colleagues' out of those darky doctors. A colleague is in some sort an equal, or some one, somewhere, may so interpret it. To avoid this peril, the white man's science shall not coöperate with that of the black man in warring against a common danger." Baldwin's answer to this was that, if it were a danger, it was one that the white man should be brave enough to face.

Hardly a month earlier than this, an official of the American Social Science Association had invited a citizen of distinction in another southern city to become a director in this oldest society of its kind in the United States. Among the dozen directors were men like President Eliot and Carroll D. Wright. One colored man, Booker T. Washington, was on the board. There came back the tart refusal based on the reason that no self-respecting Southerner would sit upon any board with *any* black man.

These are but individual instances, and are not meant to characterize the stronger and nobler South. They have place here for no other purpose than to make the issue involved a little clearer. Science, education, social health will spread, if they spread at all, through the organization and coöperation of all those *whose destinies are concerned.* Not one of these supreme values will be thrust upon the negro

from without. They will become his and ours by organic activity, in which he must play his part. If Baldwin had any remedy at heart, it was this, of which some further and more specific proof should now be given.

XXIII

FUNDAMENTALS

"To talk in an age like ours, of not educating any particular class of human beings or of deliberately holding any fraction or race of men at a permanently lower level of industrial or political opportunity is to talk a language as stale — and as pathetic — as that of the complacent memorial upon the coffin of an Egyptian mummy."

These words pleading for negro education (industrial and political) are from a white leader of all that is best in southern opinion. They express the opinion of the man with whom Baldwin declared himself in most perfect agreement. Before knowing Edgar Gardner Murphy, Baldwin had a controversy with another southern friend who told him, "There would be no bother with the negro if North and South would agree to keep him where he is." Baldwin asked what it meant to "keep him where he *is*." "It means," was the reply, "that he must be subject to the white man and be made to recognize this as his place."

Baldwin was not satisfied. "Does it mean," he asks, "that the negro's status is once for all to be fixed in our society; that he shall not look up and

on with the same hope of progress that has been the lifting motive in all race-history? What would happen to men generally if aspiration toward a larger and freer life were not merely discouraged, but baulked and barred as by some outer fate? To keep any people where it *is*, means that its growth is to stop. Can it be that we whites aim solely to *use* the negro for our comfort or profit; that through calculating legislation or tacit boycott, we would deprive him of that one supreme good that gives value to our own lives? The great prizes of life are in our chances to get on and up. For these hopes even war has been made sacred."

In this way, Baldwin pictures the situation. It seems to him inhuman and also impossible. It is impossible because, as a nation, we have committed ourselves to the progressive education of the colored race in this country. The scattered seed of more than two hundred millions of "educational money" deliberately and officially expended by the southern states with splendid generosity is already creating its own ferment of growth and progress in the black race. To say that the negro shall stay where he *is*, means that this education must come to an end. Education stands for unrest. It stands for new and more ardent "hopes." It stands for deep and inextinguishable endeavor toward larger uses of every faculty.

Dr. Washington says that Baldwin always sent

him clippings, or other evidences which came under his eye, of negro progress. Any sign in the individual or in the group of larger and more progressive attainments; a new bank, a building-and-loan association, a scholarship won, a new insurance company, a negro patent — every hopeful hint of race-capacity brought him pleasure. At every visit, he would walk rapidly about Tuskegee to see what new signs of progress were visible. He showed the frisky delight of a boy in walking behind a long line of stabled cows in Tuskegee. "Do you know," he said, "what the colored boys have made these splendid creatures out of? They began with the thing that gave about six quarts of blue fluid a day, and by successive breeding they have produced these, with their twenty-three and twenty-four quarts of creamy milk a day. To use science like that is education worth having."

On accumulated proofs like these, he rests his case that the negro is not to stay "where he is"; that he is not to be trained merely as a servant or menial for another race. He is to be educated for his own sake, for his own future, and for the satisfaction which a larger life can insure. If this differs from the views of many white men North and South, it does not differ from the views of many southern men who are looked to as leaders in their own communities. In his recent book, Edgar Gardner Murphy of Alabama has only eloquent scorn for the policy of mere repression.

In "The Present South," of older date, he says: "The perils involved in the progress of the negro are as nothing in comparison with the perils invited by his failure. And yet, if any race is to live, it must have something to live for. It will hardly cling with pride to its race-integrity if its race-world is a world wholly synonymous with deprivation, and if the world of the white man is the only generous and honorable world of which it knows. It will hardly hold with tenacity to its racial standpoint, it will hardly give any deep spiritual or conscious allegiance to its racial future, if its race-life is to be forever burdened with contempt, and denied the larger possibilities of thought and effort. The true hope, therefore, of race-integrity for the negro lies in establishing for him the possibilities of a broader social differentiation within his own racial and social life."

I quote this passage because it shows another issue on which Baldwin agreed with its author. In maintaining that the negro should have the full scope of his own faculties, that he should be encouraged and not held in leash, it is not for a moment meant that he is to be "educated into a white man." He is to be educated into a completer and better member of his own race. That the negro was a white man who happened to have a colored skin Baldwin did not believe. He held that profound racial differences separated the black from the white, and that these differences had their own special values. To

make the colored race strong and sufficient along the lines of its own generic development was to him but another definition of its success.

His most vigorous objection was against any and all formulas that "*set limits to race-hope and opportunity.*" He felt it as the last indignity that any human being should be thwarted in his development. I was with him in the South, in company with two southern gentlemen, when such a formula was quoted. Because a colored man had been appointed to some political office, a newspaper was reported as saying that "nowhere and under no circumstances should any negro be allowed in a position of authority over any white man; nowhere should any white man be subordinated to any black, or have to take any sort of order from him." This struck Baldwin as not only unjust, but as raising a practical issue of enormous difficulty. "Unless the colored race is to be removed from the country, how," he asked, "can we educate millions of them and keep them so separate and apart, that in no industry, school, art, or political office should a colored man of whatever distinction have any possible direction or superintendence over *any* white person?"

A high-spirited Confederate soldier, who was United States Minister to Spain, said that in fourteen years' intimate work with Booker Washington, he had never known him once to say or to do an unwise thing. He ranked Dr. Washington among the

rare and exclusive few of whom he said, "His ability is morally and intellectually of the first order." Yet neither he nor those like him shall ever be placed where the meanest white must take direction or guidance from him. If we ask the reason of this amazing punctilio, we are told that the least official concession on this point is the beginning of disaster. If society anywhere sanctions authority of black over the white, the ravages of social equality will at once be upon us. Such a sanction would be the ceremonial recognition of parity between the races, and therefore is impossible to concede.

That a race so haughtily conscious of superiority should think its prestige endangered by giving scope to moral or intellectual efficiency among any of its inferiors is a view that should carry only humiliation to the white. A gentleman in the South, with whom Baldwin was once conversing, gave as a reason why negroes should not vote that, if they voted, they would occasionally hold office, and office would necessarily imply a sanctioned precedence over some white superior. In that political constituency, some white persons might at any time be subjected to correction or even have to accept orders from a black man.

Baldwin's answer was that he thought the white race quite strong enough to take those chances. He thought that safety for both races lay rather in opening up every opportunity that individual capacity

could fairly win. He thought this especially true of all the weaker members of the community, whether white or black. He assumed that, as a nation, we are irretrievably committed to the education of every child. How, he asks, are we to educate the total of our citizenship and then shut the door upon any proved fitness which this education has produced? This position is not only even-handed justice, it is economically sound. Upon few things have modern economists laid more stress than upon *hope* as a stimulant to good work on the part of the wage-earner. The exact measure of this hopefulness will lie in the opportunity for advancement accorded to the worker. To bar that opportunity to any man or to any class of men is not merely to check their producing power; it is not merely a defeat and discouragement to individuals, it is, to that extent, a lessening of the general prosperity.

In Mr. Murphy's "The Basis of Ascendancy," [1] the relative weakness of the negro group is taken for granted. He does not think that worth discussing. The white race is the ascendant race. But for that very reason, it should avoid every exhibition of pettiness and injustice. With power and eloquence he states why the South may be expected to open every avenue of industrial hope to the negro, and that, *for the sake of the South.* On page 239, he writes: "The negro masses need the schools, but they need

[1] Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London.

even more profoundly that sort of education, that form of unconscious training, which is found in the quickening of the fundamental economic motives — in the renewal of hope, the arousal of elementary ambitions, the stimulation of those industrial tendencies (such as economy, tenacity, frugality) which spring from a larger sense of security, from a more general confidence in the average rewards of industry, and from the simpler satisfactions of educational and civic opportunity. So to touch them and so to use them in the larger policy of our affairs is to increase both their power to produce and their power to purchase, and is to add increasingly to the forces which must contribute to the common development of the South. It is true that the acquisition of these qualities is not easy to any negro population. Their weaknesses are notorious. Shall we, therefore, make the acquisition of such qualities more difficult? Shall we best advance the health and strength of the State by further contributing to the race's demoralization? Deliberately to hold them within the fixed stages of crude servility and undeveloped capacity is, moreover, but to mold the iron forms of our own repression."

This is quoted at length for two reasons: first, because no Southerner of recognized authority was so close to Baldwin on the points here considered, and second, because Mr. Murphy expressly included in "opportunity," industry, education, and *civics*.

Not alone is the negro to have the largest economic opportunity that this training deserves, but he is to have civic opportunity in the fair measure of his achieved fitness. If he proves his competence to vote, he shall have an even chance in the electorate with the white.

Mr. Murphy writes: "Democracy, as our institutions have interpreted it, does not mean that all men are physically or naturally equal, nor that all men, necessarily, shall be entitled to the ballot. It is wholly consistent with the restriction of suffrage. It declares, however, that such restrictions shall bear no stigma of class, and that any fraction of our citizenship, under the provisions of the local State, shall be excluded — if excluded at all — only *on the common terms.*"

This attitude, which includes economic, educational, and political opportunity for the negro, is precisely that of Baldwin. The very least that society can afford is to treat the individual on his merits. Whatever he has learned to do well, he shall be allowed to do on equal terms with every other man.

My citations of southern opinions are so largely from Mr. Murphy because with no man North or South was Baldwin in completer agreement. The first public statement he heard from Mr. Murphy moved him so deeply that only with effort could he control his voice as he thanked the speaker. When,

in 1904, Mr. Murphy published "The Present South," [1] Baldwin wrote him: —

My dear Mr. Murphy, — I finished "The Present South" last night — appendices and all.

Altho' I had read some of your previous speeches on the Southern and Child Labor Questions, I was not prepared for the work you have turned out. It is the greatest statement of the Southern social and industrial forces that has appeared. I was lost in admiration of your calm, clear, comprehensive statement, and if there is a word or clause expressed, to which I cannot agree, it was swallowed up by the moral and honest *force* of the whole.

Faithfully,

April 14, 1904. W. H. Baldwin, Jr.

He made this book a kind of standard of right opinion on the whole question. It was this book which the Secretary of State, John Hay, who was Lincoln's private secretary, read twice through. He said he "had never read anything upon this subject at all comparable with it in vigor, fairness and lucidity." Carl Schurz wrote: "I can hardly thank you enough. I have read it not only with the intensest interest, but also with the greatest delight. Your argument for negro education is overwhelming in

[1] *The Present South:* A Discussion of Certain of the Educational, Industrial and Political Issues in the Southern States. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London.

power; and I could only hope that every intelligent person in the country might read it." Edward Atkinson said that "no document since Lincoln's Gettysburg address was more important." Negroes like Booker Washington and Professor Kelly Miller have for it the highest praise, and, what is more, scores of prominent southern leaders and newspapers give their most cordial endorsement.

Here, then, is a point of unanimity, — whites, North and South, as well as competent negro judges. Mr. Murphy does not dodge or quibble. He faces in his statements the most stinging difficulties that the question raises — even that "darkest terror, amalgamation."

Baldwin found a basis for coöperation in the expressions of Mr. Murphy, because he knew that these expressions were not personal merely, but representative. He had read and heard much from the side of the narrower forces in journalism and politics. But he early discovered that many of these narrower expressions were superficial in direct proportion to their bitterness. He found that below all these negative or reactionary manifestations, there was a deeper South, a South of self-restraint, of sober patience, of kindlier temper, of constructive purposes. Its attitude toward the negro was not that of the negrophile. And yet it was quite as certainly not that of the negro-hater.

The men and women who represented this temper

seemed to Baldwin (and events are daily justifying his insight) to be the real makers of the South's future. In that future as they conceived it, he thus saw a future also for the negro — a future of real usefulness, true self-respect, and abundant opportunity. With such minds he found himself in full accord, because he saw that whatever the past differences between New England and the South, the friends of the negro could hardly refuse to accept the practical sagacity of a general programme which was to involve, for every class of the population, a free school, freedom and protection in industry, and the just and even enforcement of the suffrage restrictions of the State. That every phase of such a programme would or could be carried into immediate and full effect, he did not expect. But he believed that those at the South who were supporting such a policy, and who were quietly and earnestly working out such a programme within the South itself, were entitled to his confidence and coöperation. Mr. Murphy's books and public expressions were representative to him of this saner and stronger movement, because he knew that Mr. Murphy did not stand alone. Notices of "The Present South" found in representative organs from Texas to Virginia, soon showed that the book had expressed deep and general tendencies. The "Times-Despatch," of Richmond, Virginia; the "News and Courier" of Charleston, South Carolina; the "State," of Columbia, South Carolina; the "Bib-

lical Recorder," of Raleigh, North Carolina; the "South Atlantic Quarterly," of Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina; the "News," and the "Daily American" of Nashville, Tennessee; the "Picayune," of New Orleans; the "Advertiser," of Montgomery, Alabama; the "Courier Journal" and the "Post" of Louisville, Kentucky; and many others, gave the volume marked approval.

But far more important and more emphatic than the expressions of the press were the personal statements in letter and conversation of representative men and women whom Baldwin met in almost every quarter of the South. The general philosophy of the situation to which Mr. Murphy had given expression was found to indicate the sober direction of the South's actual leadership in industrial, religious, and educational life. The written expressions concerning this book — correspondence not intended for publication, but which I have been permitted personally to examine — show conclusively that in his acceptance of Mr. Murphy's position as typical and fairly representative of the real South, Baldwin's judgment was not at fault. He well knew the picture on the darker side. But he saw that the real conscience and heart of the South were speaking through such men as Dr. Walter B. Hill, late Chancellor, and Dr. J. W. Barrow, the present Chancellor, of the University of Georgia; Dr. J. H. Kirkland, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University; Dr. W. H. Hand, Dr. S. C.

Mitchell, and Bishop Guerry, of South Carolina; J. W. Abercrombie, President of the University of Alabama; Dr. Edward A. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia; B. Lawton Wiggins, Vice Chancellor of the University of the South, at Sewanee; and Bishop Galloway, Bishop Bratton, and Leroy Percy, now Senator-elect, of Mississippi. Such men — and the list might be so extended as to fill many pages rather than a paragraph — form, as their numbers increase, an ever-enlarging testimony to the clearness of Baldwin's insight. He saw the reality of the forces to which Mr. Murphy gave early interpretation, and he at once believed not only in their reality but in their power. "These men," said he, "may have to face many a fight, but they stand for the South of the future." In giving them his confidence and his affection, he showed his usual faith in the ideal, — and his usual good sense.

Baldwin's hope can be written in a sentence: "Will this agreement gather strength until the emerging best in the South, in the North, and among the negro leadership can act together with increasing weight and influence?"

On this victorious coöperation, Baldwin came to set his entire faith. It was in essence his own remedy for every deeper social disturbance. He thought the best of all shibboleths was "education," because about nothing was there more popular agreement. No cry was so sure to get its answering response from

an American audience. Yet in the South formidable masses set themselves against the education of the negro. As the lower middle class among the whites rose and took its place in the industrial prosperity, it came into competition with the negro. This rivalry bred economic jealousies old as the history of mankind. That such jealousies should find expression and should partially affect the popular political leadership of the South was also inevitable. It is chiefly those whose feet have just reached the lower rungs of the ladder who kick back most viciously at the aspiring negro. Because education turns his dark face to the stars, education should be cribbed. It will give him ambition and fill him with discontent with his proper place as serving-man for his superior.

It is from such as these that attacks are made even upon the industrial discipline for the black. Occasional attempts through the legislature of the State to embarrass and humiliate the Principal of Tuskegee in his work have been from such as these.

Now all that this narrower anti-negro attitude means in the South, Baldwin opposed by every influence under his command. The days and the nights were not long enough for him to reply to attacks on negro education. Mr. Murphy tells us that this less sympathetic view yields year by year to the larger and more generous attitude.

Baldwin's agreement with the South is with this confident and advancing South. It is an agreement

that enabled him to work with its leaders. That amalgamation was full of fundamental dangers to both races, he agrees. But the important issue to him was the social behavior through which it could be avoided. If race-integrity is to be preserved, it will be through the virtue of self-mastery on the part of the white. If miscegenation and sex-lawlessness between the races are to be encouraged, the ignorance of the negro will best secure that end. Mr. Murphy's words should be studied by every member of the white race.

"The arch-enemies of race-integrity are those white men who have become the strident opponents of negro-development. The fomenters of the race's despair are among the factors of its disintegration. The promoters of racial fusion, the real, though unwitting, apostles of amalgamation, are no longer the Abolitionists of the East, but those anti-negro extremists of every section who in their war upon the opportunities of this weaker race would put the foundations of its integrity upon the shifting and dissolving basis of its self-contempt."

The mere presence of an abject and uninstructed race furnishes the one sure condition of the amalgamation against which the South cries out. An educated, economic independence of the weak is its chief defense. Every moral increment will be built up on these foundations. Baldwin told a southern audience that "the North had about as many ugly difficulties

as the South, but the one safety lay in the purpose to leave no human being without an education. Neither poverty nor color nor race nor sex was to check this one movement to 'make democracy safe.'"

In the same spirit, Mr. Murphy writes in his new volume:[1] "Where our negroes are failing, are hopeless and sullen and self-abandoned, we know that all things are insecure, and that each man is relatively poorer. When the negro succeeds, we know that each life is safer, that the general wealth in circulation is greater, that every man is a little stronger, freer, and richer."

I select these eloquent and prophetic messages from Mr. Murphy, not only because they are the best interpretation known to me of Baldwin's final opinions, but because they define the possibilities of that cooperation on which his hope was fixed. On this point, Mr. Murphy's message has called out a hearty and approving response from the negro, and from the southern and northern white man alike. Those of most diverse views hail this message as one to which they will give sanction and allegiance. Major R. R. Moton, of Hampton Institute, a man with no drop of white blood in his veins, writes: —

My dear Mr. Murphy, —

I want to express to you my appreciation and sincere thanks for your last book, "The Basis of

[1] *Basis of Ascendancy*, p. 244.

Ascendancy." It is the fairest and most perfect statement from every view-point of the situation in general, and our American race problems in particular, that I have ever seen.

He adds that his colored friends feel about the book as he feels. From southern editors, judges, professors comes the same acquiescence.

The President of the University of South Carolina writes: "I cannot find words in which to tell you the thrill of joy 'The Basis of Ascendancy' has given me." Dr. Wickliffe Rose of Nashville, who succeeded Dr. Curry as Agent of the Peabody Fund, calls it "easily the most fundamental word that has been said on this subject." Dr. Frissell of Hampton Institute says there should be a fund to spread this volume by thousands through the North and South. He added that "The Basis of Ascendancy" is "the best philosophical statement thus far made as to the solution of the race-problem." Dr. Washington's words are: "The most searching examination that I remember to have read of the racial question." In the last note of Baldwin to Murphy, are the words, "I am lost in admiration of your calm, clear and comprehensive statement."

Here, then, is the basis of fundamental and consenting opinion about which all the constructive leadership of both races may gather. Shortly before his illness, Baldwin wrote to Mr. Murphy how eagerly

he looked forward to the later volume. He did not live to see it, but no one has declared Baldwin's hope and thought with truer touch than the author of the two volumes here quoted.

XXIV

A CRITICISM

Now and then, with critical intent, Baldwin was called "too impulsive." This was said of him, as it was of Theodore Roosevelt, with about as much and about as little justification. The criticism implied that his emotional fervors were too explosive, especially in the presence of obscure and entangled social problems. If this be a reproach, those who loved him best will be the last to take affront. What seemed to him unnecessary suffering, whether of man or brute, stirred him on the spot with something like moral anger. That he kept his impetuosities always within the limits of perfect sobriety is not in the least probable, nor should we think the better of him if he did.

Of much more importance is it to know what were his habitual ways of preparing himself for responsibilities toward a given social problem.

The testimony about this is very complete. From the boy to ripest manhood he embodies action rather than brooding thought. So well did he learn this fact about himself, that he takes extraordinary pains to guard against errors into which he might be led. That sombre calamity of prostitution is per-

fect as an illustration. We shall see with what seriousness he insists upon first knowing what, in other times and other places, has been thought and done; what restrictions have succeeded with prostitution and what have failed; what, in a word, has a wide human experience to tell us? All possible light from these sources should, he says, first have most painstaking scrutiny before active steps are taken.

With the negro's destiny in our midst, it was the same when he had fairly faced it. His desire to get at the deeper and more determining facts would appear to men of cooler temper well-nigh fanatical. No one can speak of this with more authority than Booker Washington. Aside from what is quoted on this point, he tells me that Baldwin gave him the most valuable lesson he ever received in sheer toilsome, preliminary examination of difficulties with which they had to cope. In one of Baldwin's final visits at Tuskegee, lasting some days, he became so absorbed in the various phases of the work that Mrs. Washington wrote her husband (temporarily absent) that she could not bear to see the intensity with which Mr. Baldwin gave himself to his investigations. He looked as if he would "burn up." The case of the individual boy or girl had for him the same entire giving of himself, as did the financial organization of the Institute. Mrs. Washington finally urged her husband, in Mr. Baldwin's own interest, to get him away from Tuskegee.

On another occasion, Tuskegee was visited by a large number of men and women, brought there by Mr. Robert C. Ogden. College presidents, bishops, editors, every variety of educational expert, together with leading business men, were in the company. Every chance was afforded to see Tuskegee at work in all its activities. As the train took these visitors away, Baldwin seized the occasion. He picked the men most competent to criticise the various departments of the Institute. The prodigality of praise pleased him, but he was not then in search of approval. It was a rapid hunt for sincere and able exposition of faults. Who had seen weaknesses? Was there here and there careless and slovenly work?

In a few hours he had gathered up his budget of comments. He again went over these among the men who differed in their opinions. He pitted one against another to test the value of the various disapprovals. He had at the end a batch of critical observations which seemed to him of such importance that Dr. Washington and his coworkers ought at once to have them for their own consideration. In spite of grave inconvenience, he left the train and returned to Tuskegee that no time might be lost in submitting these observations, and discussing them on the spot with Washington. Though I knew this incident, I had not realized all that it meant, until Mr. Washington long afterward told me in detail about Baldwin's reappearance; of his eager and exacting

insistence that these criticisms should at once have the most careful consideration; that then and there they should go over together every doubtful point. A phrase often used in his own business, he uses at Tuskegee: "In every hard job, I want first of all to know the worst: to know what the 'outs' are." "He had," said Mr. Washington, "an astonishing gift to get instantly at the weaknesses of the situation."

In the final tribute to Baldwin, he says: "None knew better than he the strong as well as the weak points of the people of my race, and deeply as he sympathized with the effort of the race to go forward, he never allowed himself to be controlled by mere sentiment. He knew that the sort of service he desired to render the negro people required that he be able to see not only their virtues but their faults as well. The fact is that he made the cause of Tuskegee Institute, the negro race and the South a part of his life. He literally lived with these problems day and night."

If this is the man of impulse, it is also the man of cool discretion.

His greatest, as it was the most laborious task at Tuskegee, was in the minute reorganization of its finances. He never found a hint of dishonesty in its use of funds. He found, what a good half of the educational institutions in the land might show, great imperfections in the accounting departments, imperfections in organization or method. Dr. Wash-

ington has described Baldwin's first appearance as trustee and the "terrible thoroughness" of his first investigations. "How are you keeping your accounts? Where are your funds? How are your investments made?" More than a score of active industries were in process in the Institute and, at the same time, large building operations were going on, calling for ever larger disbursements. Most of the departments were doing business with each other, and at every point the institution was extending with embarrassing rapidity. To put order and efficiency into all this was a burden from which most heavily weighted men would shrink. He had not "hours or minutes enough" to do his own work. Only after sharp scrutiny and much deliberation does he consent to add this responsibility. "When the decision was made," says Washington, "he took hold of this problem in the same manner that he would the proposition to reorganize a railway. In fact, the methods of keeping our accounts are modeled on those of a railway and so bear the definite impress of Mr. Baldwin's hand and mind. But the benefits of the system he introduced into the business of the school were not only practical, they were educational. The information that his inquiries brought out and the methods he suggested for dealing with the definite problems which his inquiries disclosed, were in the nature of a liberal education to me and to the other executive officers of the school. They gave us a

knowledge of the value and meaning of method and system which we could, probably, have gained in no other way, and for the reason that nowhere else would we have found so competent an instructor. The results of this education have shown themselves since in the whole organization of the school."

He adds further: "In the course of my frequent conferences with Mr. Baldwin every feature of the school's finances, the endowment fund, the possibilities of further economies in various directions, the methods of raising money and the matter of a proper form for the annual reports, made by myself and the treasurer of the Institute, were gone over in minute detail. Although we spent many hours of time and labor over matters of this kind, Mr. Baldwin never seemed to tire. No detail was so insignificant as to escape his scrutiny. No matter that concerned the welfare of the school and the future of its work was so trivial that it did not receive his careful consideration. In many instances, in the preparation of my report, he has suggested repeated changes in sentences and paragraphs, in order that they might convey just the right impression. In preparing my speeches for special occasions, also, I have frequently sat down with him in his library and gone over them sentence by sentence."

I cannot forbear giving one more incident to show the depth and sincerity of feeling which this cause inspired in him. He went South with his New Eng-

land heritage strong and undisturbed. Much of the Puritan was in his blood. His first six months among Southerners made it clear to him how much he had both to learn and to unlearn. He was at one period, I think, in danger of unlearning too much, or at least of unlearning too fast. The very definiteness of his responsibilities saved him. These taught him so much of the pathetic subtlety of race-psychology as to guard him from cranky extravagance. As the social, economic, and political aspects of the problem grew clearer to him, as he learned that the whites were as much a part of the issue as the blacks, his anxiety to avoid rashness became so acute that the following incident, reported by Dr. Washington, does not suggest the victim of impulse.

"Mr. Baldwin was always particularly interested and even anxious that in all my public utterances I should say the right thing, and, above all, that I should say the helpful thing. He made me feel more than I had been able to understand the responsibility that rested on me and upon other men who represented my race in this direction in view of the tension that existed then as now between the two races in the South.

"When I delivered my address at the opening of the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, Mr. Baldwin was in Atlanta, and on the Exposition grounds, but he was not in the building when I spoke. He was so much concerned as to the impression that my address would

make upon the audience that, during the entire opening exercises, he walked nervously around the building, waiting impatiently for the close of the exercises, to hear the verdict of those who had listened to my remarks."

The occasion on which Washington made this address before a great southern audience of whites was one to challenge in any man the highest practical wisdom. This picture of Baldwin's figure, with the head a little bent, walking "nervously around the building," refusing to go inside lest he hear or witness "what he could not bear," tells with the simplest veracity how far the soul of the man was consecrated to this most perplexing of educational movements. He was not alone thinking of the negro: he was thinking of the white. Both were to be educated so that they could live together in mutual helpfulness. He was not thinking only of the South. He said the average white man at the North needed education *on matters of race as much as the negro needed it.* The world over, it has been the crass ignorance of the white about all the deeper, inner life and motive of colored peoples that accounts for much of the brutality of the strong against the weak.

All this impulsive energy in the man is a measure of his eagerness to be useful to the cause. But the impulse is not his master. Behind the impelling emotion is much restraint, much painstaking of the man of creative business achievement.

XXV

THE SOCIAL EVIL

The struggle with prostitution, which Lecky calls the "oldest profession in the world," has been named the "school of humility for all reformers." For many more centuries than those covered by the Christian era, religion, legislation, private associations, and millions of individuals have measured their strength against the so-called "social evil." Yet to-day it is commercially exploited on an appalling scale. It has international affiliations, and every considerable centre of population is compelled to recognize it and to make for its continuance careful and elaborate provisions. English and American cities shrink from technical "recognition," but this too often merely adds density to the haze of our hypocrisy. We concentrate a pitiless and indiscriminate ostracism upon the individual victim, but do not dare to face the social (as distinct from the individual) causes of the malady. Baldwin was compelled to look upon some of these causes. The inaccessible sources of harlotry and the obvious horror of its consequences filled him with pity. It was a pity all the keener because he soon saw how poor and meagre the utmost result of the preliminary work in which he was to engage must prove.

That those in political power could be brought before the public and there shamed into some sense of their duty, seemed to him and his associates possible. That landlords could be forced to protect workingmen's families in their homes, the Committee on which he was to do the hardest work, thought possible. No price was too great to pay, if only the *political affiliations with organized vice* could be laid bare before the people. That so many officials should deliberately accept money income from tolerated vice and lawlessness is what Baldwin wished people to see. Here was a political prostitution meaner than that of the painted creature on the street. Its infection of our political life was as direct and deadly as is that of the strumpet upon morals. A large number of people — officials, students, men of the world — know the nature of this coalition. They know that the primary passions of sex, of drink, and of gambling, are made objects of merchandise by those to whom strategic parts of our municipal machinery are intrusted. But in general, the real nature of this coalition, its extent and devastating social effect, is neither known nor felt. To startle this larger constituency into some sense of its power and accountability was an object well worth fighting for.

This opportunity came to Baldwin. Like others, he had to look searchingly at the evil, only to find how helpless human effort has been either to understand or to stay its course. He had to learn that

scarcely a remedy could be mentioned which had not been tried, not once, but a thousand times.

Again and again, at the *Conférence Internationale* dealing with this subject, it is disputed whether society for twenty centuries has gained an inch of ground against this scourge. In every advanced country, legislation has exhausted all the devices known to men, even to isolate it from other vices. By indirections never yet controlled, this vice allies itself to the three other most powerful human inclinations: money-getting, gambling, and drink. Each of these, separate and alone, is so strong that no society can do more than slightly modify its form. The evil can be driven from one place to another; from one shape to a different shape. But there remains a terrible constancy in the total social exploitation of the prostitute. Wherever this "trinity of desolation" — harlotry, gambling, and the saloon — can work together, each stimulating and supporting the other, the climax of unmanageable mischief is reached.

The measure of this destruction cannot be stated in terms of sin or even of morals. Experimental science coldly catalogues the immense physical misery, the degeneration, the extinction of life traceable directly to the diseases which prostitution brings. A physician of large practice and also a university lecturer has said: "If I should tell the public what I know, from twenty-five years of city practice, about

the deadly effect of these diseases upon innocent persons alone, I should not be believed by any man whose experience was less than mine. So far as defeating the very purposes of life, drunkenness, with all its horrors, seems to me a minor evil as compared to the death-bearing quality of venereal disease."

He was asked why, then, he did not make this knowledge public. "I do it in general terms, but that exhausts my courage. To tell in specific detail how it blights and withers up the lives of those who have done no wrong, is a tale so horrible that I have no heart to tell it."

Yet it is this same horror which men organize for profit and are allowed to organize. They create institutions and markets to extend and perpetuate it. These have been properly named "death-factories."

The evil would be dark enough if the extra money-making stimulus could be eliminated. But no community is thus far wise enough to prevent hordes of men and women from developing these vices solely for money profit.

It is this which makes the partnership of the political machine with vice. It is a business association, and the origin of the nethermost depths of graft in city politics. Yes, the lowest known infamy is probably that of the financial organization for the destruction of womanhood; in cold blood, not even for lust, to organize this human destruction solely for money income. On a stupendous scale this commer-

cial infamy is established in our midst. If it is free to use the saloon, the dance-hall, the pool-room and other forms of gambling, there is scarcely a limit to its destructive agency. The "Raines-Law hotels" and the pool-rooms in New York City gave again in 1900, the old illustration of this more profitable organization of the fundamental vices. Ground had been broken by the Tenement-House Commission. It had been for several years at work in the poorer districts of the city. It had studied the cramped and unnatural existence in these tenements, at first, with little suspicion of the cancerous growth to be exposed. In 1900, the Commission reported to the legislature. What it says of prostitution is given, because the special work over which Baldwin presided is so closely related to the painstaking research of this able body. It says: —

"In the course of its investigations the Commission has become painfully aware of one evil from which it believes tenement-house dwellers should be protected. . . . That evil is the introduction of the practice of prostitution into reputable tenement houses. . . . This condition has recently grown worse. Evidence has been submitted that the protests of the dwellers in the tenement houses immediately affected have been unheeded, and in spite of the best efforts of careful parents, the very house in which a family has dwelt, selected because it was thought to be free from this curse, has furnished the

temptation against which parental care and anxiety have been in vain. We have ascertained that when dissolute women enter a tenement house their first effort is to make friends with the children. Children have been lured into their rooms, where they beheld sights from which they should be protected. Frequently these women engage one family in the tenement to do their laundry-work, another to do their cooking, and still further financial arrangements are made with the housekeeper. The patronage which they can distribute is thus utilized to make friends and to purchase the silence of those who might otherwise object to their presence. The children of reputable families are often sent to the prostitutes on various errands, and because of the gifts made to the children these women become important personages in the house and their affairs the subject of frequent conversation. The familiarity with vice, often in its most flagrant forms, possessed by very young children because of the condition just described, has profoundly impressed the Commission. The anxiety of reputable parents living in houses upon which these harlots have descended is most pitiful."

Such was the finding of men not suspected of any political motive: men like Robert de Forest and Richard Watson Gilder.[1]

In moral protest against this disastrous influence, a public meeting was called in the Chamber of Com-

[1] On the day this is written a New York paper has an editorial

merce. That an army of strumpets should be allowed to carry on the calling in the very midst of a defenseless home-life thronged with children, was a thing too odious for any community to tolerate. To carry out this work of deliverance, to fix some part of the responsibility, and to secure legislation, the Committee of Fifteen was formed, with Baldwin at its head, and Professor E. R. A. Seligman as its Secretary.[1]

on Mr. Gilder whose death was just announced. Referring to his work of investigating tenements, it says: —

"Mr. Gilder threw himself into the task with his characteristic conscientiousness and devotion.

"His faithfulness defied all rivalry. More than a year of his life was given to the work of this committee — a work out of which has grown the New York Tenement-House Law, which has furnished a model of that kind of legislation for the whole country."

[1] MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN

William H. Baldwin, Jr., *Chairman*, Felix Adler, Joel B. Erhardt, Austen G. Fox, John S. Kennedy, William J. O'Brien, Alexander E. Orr, George Foster Peabody, George Haven Putnam, J. Harsen Rhoades, Jacob H. Schiff, Andrew J. Smith, Charles Sprague Smith, Charles Stewart Smith, Edwin R. A. Seligman, *Secretary*.

XXVI

THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTEEN

At a Memorial service held under the auspices of "The People's Institute" in New York City, the publisher and author, George Haven Putnam, was chosen to speak of Baldwin's service on the Committee of Fifteen. Mr. Putnam gave the following estimate of Baldwin's part in this work: —

"The men brought together in that Committee were all men of affairs who had their hands full of responsibilities, but it is probable that no one of them had upon him a larger burden or a greater variety of complex and exacting responsibilities than were carried by Mr. Baldwin. Nevertheless, when a decision had to be made in regard to the leadership of the Committee, it was evident to all of the members that Baldwin was the one man essentially fitted for the task. His natural modesty, together with the many demands that were already being made upon his time, caused him to hesitate; but when it became clear to him that this leadership was his special duty, there was no further doubt or hesitation.

"Punctual to the minute he appeared, after a weary day spent in his office, as fresh and disengaged in mind as if it were the first business of the morn-

ing to which he was to turn his attention. No amount of work seemed too arduous for him; when the general meeting of the Committee was concluded, he would often continue to work on sub-committees, superintending the difficult details of execution until the small hours of the night. He had the capacity of concentrating himself upon the task before him, deterred by nothing — by no fear of ridicule, no dread of interference with his own business interests, no thought of possible adverse criticism. . . . He knew not only how to initiate and to decide, but how to listen, to compare, and to conclude. He had the capacity, while listening with the utmost consideration to all suggestions, of weighing opinions rather than counting them. His own judgment, based always upon the widest and fullest consideration of all the facts placed before him, was clear-cut, final, and trustworthy."

After the Committee was constituted, Baldwin wrote out a "preliminary statement" of the policy agreed upon among the working members. The differences between his provisional and final printed declaration reveal the difficulty encountered by the Committee in making the precise objects clear to the public. They were all men who knew that the first and last danger of heralded reforms was in exciting too high hopes; of inviting failure by promising what could not be performed. In rough preliminary notes, Baldwin sketches the evil in the tenements together

with the fact "that it was advantageous to the landlord of the tenement house to rent part of his tenement to the prostitute, since he could thereby obtain larger profit than by renting to the family. And it became evident here also, as had been proved in the case of gambling, that under the prevailing system of protection of criminal vice, most vicious results arose from the *constantly increasing demands* of those who levied the blackmail. Although the appeal for help from the tenement houses was most distressing, the difficulty of holding the landlord responsible was so great, that it was found necessary to defer legal action until new laws should be passed through the Legislature."

As the investigation developed, the declared policy of the Committee assumed this form: —

(1) To institute a searching inquiry, uninfluenced by partisan considerations, into the causes of the present alarming increase of gambling and the social evil in this City, and to collect such evidence as shall establish the connection between existing conditions and those who, in the last analysis, are responsible for these conditions.

(2) To publish the results of such investigation in order to put our fellow citizens in possession of facts, and to enable them to adopt such corrective measures as may be needed.

(3) To promote such legislation as shall render it less difficult to reach offenders, and as shall put an

end to the shifting and division of responsibility in the local administration of the laws relating to vice and crime, to the end that public officers and their subordinates may be held to a strict accountability for their acts.

(4) To suggest and promote the provision of more wholesome conditions and surroundings, in order to lessen the allurements and incentives to vice and crime.

The first tabulated results of investigation brought out the difficulties. The ghastly revelations of the "cadet-system" were less baffling than the discovery of exact information as to the relation of city officials to crime and vice. To know in a general way that scores of men selected to protect the people's rights were in fact protecting the most festering vices in order to increase their own gains was very easy. But to know this with such precision as to prove the cases in Court was not easy. For this, the most exacting inquiries had to be made, and every batch of evidence sifted to the last detail.

The evils before them were at every step entangled with all the forces of local politics. The very success of the Committee would endanger the political party in power. Every ugly disclosure would strike at Tammany. In her own defense, she, too, must now act the part of outraged virtue before the public. A Tammany Committee was appointed. The great Croker himself stirred angrily in the matter.

He soundly upbraided one of his lieutenants for permitting vice to stalk with such effrontery in his own district. Policemen were at hand to give damning testimony to the charge. "The police themselves," says Croker, "are actually soliciting on your own ground and other policemen have done nothing to stop it." A president of one of the most important Tammany organizations puts out the statement: "We think pool-rooms should be closed, gambling suppressed, desperate resorts swept out of existence, and vice so treated that it dare not flaunt itself in the faces of innocent persons."

The chairman of their own frightened committee, himself once the very chief of Tammany, turned against his own household in these words: —

"Tammany has lost control of the police, — the gambling clique is in the saddle, insolent and arrogant.

"Devery's [Chief of Police] maintenance in office is the most eloquent commentary on the situation. He has been furnished lists of gambling places with the request that they be closed. They have not been closed. The situation is intolerable."

This brought the issue where it was bound to come. How was the public to decide? Was Tammany responsible for conditions within which these monstrosities of vice were thriving? It was the Committee's work to prove this; to prove it so definitely that the people would believe it and act upon it. Yet even

this was but a beginning. To induce a miscellaneous electorate to discriminate between what could be done with prostitution and what could *not* be done, was what Baldwin called "the real job." To discriminate between what this appointed body could do in the "short run" of a year, and what a more educated opinion could accomplish in the "long run" of the future, was a vital part of this "real job."

The only possible step to this practical sanity was taken by the Committee. A student trained in the habits of social investigation was set at work to examine the historic facts of prostitution so far as legislative and other control bore upon it. He was to report upon the actual results in different nations of the long struggle to keep this gnawing depravity within bounds.

The report was made and finally given to the public under the title: —

"The Social Evil, with Special Reference to Conditions Existing in the City of New York." [1]

In eleven chapters, it deals with matters which may be summarized: Prostitution as a problem; Ancient and modern characteristics; the History of its attempted regulation; the Sanitary aspects of regulation; Moral aspects, with the fundamental opposition between moral and sanitary control; the Application of this historic experience to New York City. These are followed by an Appendix upon "The Raines-

[1] G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1902.

Law Hotels and the Social Evil," with (Part II) the recommendations of the Committee and an Appendix on "Present Conditions in New York."

If Mr. Baldwin's Committee had done no stroke of work except to put this volume before the public, its appointment would be justified. It is the kind of study, without the knowledge of which no well-directed action against this evil is conceivable. Its judgments are singularly free from hysteria, as they are from fantastic proposals. It is admitted that for any future worth discussing, the evil will continue. We are warned against the fatuity of any accessible remedies which assume that the evil can once for all be stopped. We are held to practical proposals, aiming solely at such control as shall shut the misery of it within the narrowest possible compass.

As the mass of evidence came in, it was seen that the disclosures of the Tenement-House Commission, had but half told the story. The detailed reports were filled with items like this: "In one hundred and twenty-five tenement houses, which were examined by our agents, and in which prostitutes were living, there were found in each house, on an average, twenty-four children under the age of eighteen years."

No mere rumor or gossip was taken, but only corroborated, sworn statements against specified apartments and rooms in these tenements. Five separate sections of the city were studied. Closer and more

intensive attention was given to certain congested spots occupied by families paying rent of three dollars a week. To know thoroughly how life in this poverty line was affected by prostitution, acting under a common roof, details of rent and occupations were classified in several precincts.

The report, signed by Baldwin, closes with the warning that these figures do not tell the story. The real evils "do not lend themselves to public print."

In some apartments in which "soliciting" was regularly practiced from doors or windows, were from forty to fifty children. Continually children brought home accounts of unprintable grossness that were all the safer and more frequent because both parents were often absent at their work. There had been fitful, angry protests to the authorities by the parents, yet the officials were either silent or made some paltry pretense of arresting here and there an individual. This helplessness of thousands of families to make a single complaint, moved the Committee to appeal for a permanent hall in each Assembly district where the people could gather in mass meeting to make their voices heard.

"The Committee has, in the course of its labors, been deeply impressed with the practical helplessness of the mass of people in any attempt to secure their rights, owing to the lack of one of the elementary provisions requisite for the assertion of such rights, namely, convenient and suitable places for halls of

assembly. A hall of assembly is an indispensable organ of a democracy. What the Town Hall is in the New England village, that assembly halls should be in the modern city. The Committee recommends, therefore, most heartily that in each Assembly District one suitable assembly hall shall be built which shall be kept available for the meetings of citizens."

To this possible awakening of the people Baldwin always comes. He writes in his notes: "It is all a question of making the people know the facts. They do not know them. If they can be made to *see* and see clearly, they will support proper measures." He never wavered in this final democratic faith. This was his appeal for all regulation of public-service corporations, for strikes, and now for "the social evil." "The people," he said, "will stand by us in everything we propose if there is any way of letting them know what these vices mean in New York City."

Baldwin once broke out against what he called the pious shamming of society about the underworld of vice. To make a virtue of ignoring it or pretending that there was "a great deal of exaggeration and yellow journalism about it," seemed to him one of the first obstacles to be removed. He thought the mass of comfortable people had got to be successively shocked by the facts until they could at least recognize what was going on in their midst.

This appeal to the larger public has at last begun.

In November, 1909, two magazines, "Everybody's" and "McClure's," published articles from which something may be hoped. To say that gambling, the saloon, and prostitution are guarded and cultivated by the city politician and his henchmen as a source of revenue is notorious. But we have a great deal more to learn than that. In his smiting chapter on "The Beast and the Children," Judge Lindsey tells this as Dante might have told it, had his journey into hell been in our time. Above and behind the political machine, profiting by the vices, are specific monopoly privileges, headed often by the brewers, but by no means confined to them. They are the corporate interests deliberately allying themselves in a common partnership with those who shield the brothel, the saloon, and the gambler. High financial interests practically consent to this partnership, because they need the political support of the creatures who both nourish and feed upon the vices. No city will free herself from the nightmare of graft or from the needless excesses of harlotry, gambling, and drink until the nature of this partnership is understood by the people.

In this spirit the Committee of Fifteen took up its task. It tells us in its report [1] what the "cadet" means.

"*The Cadet and His Victim.* — The 'cadet' is a young man, averaging from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, who, after having served a short appren-

[1] *The Social Evil*, p. 183.

ticeship as a 'light-house,' secures a staff of girls and lives upon their earnings. He dresses better than the ordinary boy, wears an abundance of cheap jewelry, and has usually cultivated a limited amount of gentlemanly demeanor. His occupation is professional seduction. By occasional visits he succeeds in securing the friendship of some attractive shop-girl. By apparently kind and generous treatment, and by giving the young girl glimpses of a standard of living which she had never dared hope to attain, this friendship rapidly ripens into infatuation. The Raines-Law hotel or the 'furnished-room house,' with its café on the ground floor, is soon visited for refreshments. . . . Through fear and promises of marriage she casts her fortunes with her companion, and goes to live with him. The companion disappears, and the shop-girl finds herself an inmate of a house of prostitution. She is forced to receive visitors of the house. For each visitor the girl receives a brass or pasteboard check from the cashier of the house, entitling her to twenty-five cents. The cadet returns to the house at frequent intervals, takes the checks from his victim, and cashes them at the cashier's desk."

What follows in the report shows the political affiliations of the cadet with politics, and with those higher up who use the politician for their own business ends.[1]

[1] *The Social Evil*, p. 183.

XXVII

RESULTS

If it is asked what good was accomplished by this Committee, the answer must be, in the words of one of its members, "Very little in actually checking the evil." From the point of view of its own intention, however, something was accomplished. About the only possible foundation on which society may begin to construct defenses against this evil was laid by the Committee of Fifteen. It gave to the community some first elementary lessons as to what could be attempted and what could not be attempted. It was entirely free from the mental fatuity of those who think that the evil, in our time, can be fundamentally, or even very radically, changed. It showed enough capacity and enough honesty to decide first of all what it could *not* perform. It summed up the thwarted attempt of centuries to curb the evil in different cities of the world. It classified methods of regulation and their results. It brought that experience to bear upon our own conditions, to see how far, if at all, it could be utilized in New York City. The Committee was wise in seeing that the actual facts in our own cities must guide their action.

That politicians fed from these vices was known. It

was known that prominent owners of house-property profited by the high rentals which prostitution offers. It was known that hundreds of tenements, filled with decent families and thousands of children, were infested by the presence of loose women. But all this knowledge was nearly useless because the general public was too profoundly ignorant about the tangled social nature of the facts and especially about the extent of the facts. It knew neither the existing laws against the evil nor the need of new ones. Its ignorance was dense about the enforcement of such laws as did exist, and still more dense about the nature of the evidence required to secure conviction. The Committee saw that this ignorance of the public was primary in the matter. It was an ignorance that meant apathy on one side and wild sentimental "remedies" on the other.

Here was the opportunity, as it was the duty, of the Committee. It could in some degree enlighten the public. It could enlighten it far enough to make possible the first intelligent steps. Heavy and thick about this evil are the real and simulated pruderies which do so much to frustrate any honest application of reforms.

Prostitution in the tenements, the facts about the Raines-Law hotels, and convincing illustrations of Tammany's direct and indirect profit from the vice, could be brought out where the public might see enough to ask for preliminary laws and for their en-

forcement. This beginning was made. That it was anything further than pioneer service; that it was anything other than an illustration of what the public could take up and carry on, never probably entered the mind of Baldwin or of his associates.

What was achieved was an object-lesson in method. The connection of professional vice with the Raines-Law hotel was made clear by proved investigations. It was shown what could be done under the new Tenement-House law in guarding home-life in the tenements. In illustration, more than two hundred disorderly apartments were "cleaned up" under the act of July, 1901. Six "cadets" were sent to prison. The proprietor of some of the lowest dives was driven from the community, and another imprisoned. Several police officers were convicted.

It was understood that these were only "samples." The huge "death-industry" went on just the same in other channels. But all the time the Committee was attending to its proper business of showing that these vices were at least diminishable. It was showing what could be done if the people willed to do it. Its longer report gives decisive demonstration of what regulatory measures may be wisely undertaken with some hope of success. The history of "fundamental experiments" as between London and Paris is convincingly discussed. The best of reasons are given why too drastic legislation defeats its own ends.

Its final more positive proposals are outlined as follows: —

"First, strenuous efforts to prevent in the tenement houses the overcrowding which is the prolific source of sexual immorality. The attempts to provide better housing for the poor, praiseworthy and deserving of recognition as they are, have as yet produced but a feeble impression upon existing conditions, and are but the bare beginnings of a work which should be enlarged and continued with unflagging vigor and devotion. If we wish to abate the Social Evil, we must attack it at its sources.

"Secondly, the furnishing, by public provision or private munificence, of purer and more elevating forms of amusement to supplant the attractions of the low dance-halls, theatres, and other similar places of entertainment that only serve to stimulate sensuality and to debase the taste. The pleasures of the people need to be looked after far more earnestly than has been the case hitherto. . . .

"Thirdly, whatever can be done to improve the material conditions of the wage-earning class, and especially of young wage-earning women, will be directly in line with the purpose which is here kept in view. It is a sad and humiliating admission to make, at the opening of the twentieth century, in one of the greatest centres of civilization in the world, that, in numerous instances, it is not passion or corrupt inclination, but the force of actual physical

want, that impels young women along the road to ruin. . . .

"But above all, the Committee recommend a change in the attitude of the law. As it stands at present, the law regards prostitution as a crime. If we are ever to escape from the present impossible conditions, it seems imperative to draw the distinction sharply between sin and crime. The proposition is to exclude prostitution from the category of crime. We hasten to add that this proposition should by no means be understood as a plea for laxer moral judgments. A sin is not less odious because it is not treated as a crime. Sins may even be incomparably more heinous than offenses which the law visits with punishment. Nevertheless, some of the most grievous sins are not subjected to legal penalties, simply because it is recognized that such penalties cannot be enforced, and a law on the statute-book that cannot be enforced is a whip in the hands of the blackmailer. Corruption in the police force can never be extirpated until this prolific source of it is stopped."

To do entire justice to this Committee, brief reference must be made to an association which had its inspiration in the work of the "Fifteen." The "Committee of Fourteen" is now actively engaged in the more exacting task of investigation. Its predecessor showed the helpless ignorance of society about the effectiveness of its own laws against prostitution. These laws in all their relation are now an object of

study. Some of them have never had the slightest consistent enforcement because there was no public opinion behind them. Least of all has it been known what exact facts were necessary to convict the culprit.[1] New York has now one hundred thousand tenements with a new body of laws. But existing prostitution has somewhere to be housed. The Committee of Fifteen, after considering the history of "segregation" in a definite part of the city, decided on the experience in other cities against it.

If it is to be shut rigorously from one hundred thousand tenements and from Raines-Law hotels, and not to be "segregated," what then? It was admitted that it must be quartered in the municipality. To this paralyzing dilemma, no answer is given. Baldwin thought we were so stifled with hypocrisies that we did not even dare to face the dilemma. He thought "we were all afraid of each other on the subject and that this cultivated ignorance was one of the 'chief perils.'"

[1] To secure evidence against the vicious, that can be so legally expressed as not to open opportunities for the blackmailer, is a difficulty with which reformers have struggled for centuries. Those who know the impossibility of getting a jury to convict — if the "age of consent" is too high — will see how narrow the limits are within which any law can be enforced against this special evil. If it is found, for example, that the "age of consent" placed at eighteen years secures almost no convictions before a jury, while the age of sixteen secures many more, the inference is instructive. It is instructive about the entire bearing of the law upon this subject.

It is now the further aim to know the existing law and the possibility of its enforcement, before new laws are asked for; to know what other societies like that for the "Suppression of Vice" are doing, and how far coöperation may be brought about; to know the exact responsibilities of house-ownership; to know why the respectable owner of a house harboring prostitutes should not have the fact brought home to him instead of throwing responsibility on his agent; to throw light on the enormous holdings of the brewers and their own part in this tragedy: these, with facts about the dance-halls, compulsory marriages, sale of dangerous drugs, abortion, etc., indicate the spirit in which the present work goes on.

New York City presents both as comedy and tragedy the dreary tale of mere harrying the prostitute from one place to another place, from one form of regulation to another form, without necessarily lessening the malady by a tittle. Within the last few years, there is a "spasm plus investigation" which drives the inmates from the brothel to the tenements. This is followed by a tenement-house law which drives them back to the brothel. This again is followed by an attack upon the brothel through the police and district attorney, which scatters them again into hotels and tenements, or opens new apartments for massage, manicuring, and other like decoys. If a constructive policy of "preventive regulation" is ever to be built up, it will at least be in the spirit and by the

method of these two committees, which are a part of the same endeavor.

It is only upon the basis of such intensive study and the facts elicited, that society can learn the dread lesson of its own accountability. Only when the social and economic causes of this scourge are known, can the first preventive steps against it be taken. It is the immense pathos of all the noble work among personal victims of this disorder, that society furnishes the supply faster than individuals can be saved. To have begun this task in a spirit and by a method which shall slowly educate us into some humility before the evil, and into some real power over its causes, must stand to the credit of Baldwin's Committee and that of its successor.[1]

[1] As this volume goes to press the new Report published by Andrew H. Kellogg Co., New York, 1910, appears: *The Social Evil in New York City;* A Study of Law Enforcement by the Research Committee of the Committee of Fourteen. It is far more complete in thoroughness of detail and classification than any study of this evil yet made in this country.

XXVIII

"THE GAME"

It is not the purpose of this volume to include puzzles so successfully obscure as the doubtful financing of far too many large corporations. The questions have once more to be raised because Baldwin in his final years had definitely to do with them. He came upon abuses so intertangled with affairs of his own that he was poignantly troubled by certain responsibilities.

It was one of the results of his work on the Committee of Fifteen that he was led to face with more serious and conscious directness the question of continuing in business. With grave and almost passionate emphasis, I heard him ask at this time: "Harnessed into a great corporation as I am, can one really fight for the big human causes? Can one through thick and thin defend his own corporate interests and at the same time defend public interests?"

The clever jugglery which the modern finance makes possible has introduced a danger not easy to exaggerate. If the directing authority lies in the hands of powerful and unscrupulous men, the management of the property may become largely distinct from the ownership. The credit-system can now be so

used as to make this separation between control and ownership almost absolute. A flood of water in the form of common stock, representing that most amazing device, "good will," may enable such men literally to capitalize not a dollar's worth of value, but the most daring speculative expectations. With our method of listing these properties, tangible and intangible, on the stock exchange, any manipulated quotation may be made the working basis of "earning capacity," and hence of capitalization. The older partnerships and firms held "good will" among their most precious assets. But their field was narrow and open to observation. As these partnerships or firms are gathered up into the modern corporation, the term "good will" has strange destinies. It may cover a whole realm of "unembodied wealth" which has no conceivable utility in the world, except as tools in the hands of a gambler. "Good will" may include labels, brands, trademarks, innumerable "secrets" and processes. It may include copyrights, patents, franchises, "good name" and monopoly control of materials. An adventurous manager, if he conjure well, may so practice with these elasticities as to divert to his own pocket what belongs to other men. Especially since 1870, it has been done in our midst on a scale that disconcerts the boldest calculator.

We know to a certainty that this financiering is full of ethical situations. We know it because some

directors, less pliant than their fellows, now and then openly make (sometimes in print) their moral protest. They declare loudly that they will not be a party, — perhaps to certain "underwriting" transactions between affiliated corporations. These more scrupulous men "draw a line," or at least threaten to draw it. To buy properties, through corporate indirection, and then sell to themselves at a high figure is one common device which occasionally arouses this moral protest, even within the ranks of the financiers.

Timid and belated persons, who "do not like to think so ill of human nature," can easily convince themselves. They have only to turn for one example to the index in our "Report of the Industrial Commission." Very elaborately in those pages the "captains of industry," who did these things, tell us in much detail *how* they did them. There was surely no motive to overstate their case as they were in the lime-light of searching and hostile criticism. We now know that a very meagre part of this story appeared before that commission. It was a politically manipulated commission, but many important facts got through the sieve. One of the mightiest of the witnesses said cynically as he walked away: "The few who really manage finance at the important centres need not lose an hour's sleep. *There is not anybody on the outside who knows enough to understand the game.* They can't even ask the right questions."

I repeated this to the president of a New York bank, who replied that "it exhausted the subject."

Baldwin insisted that while the "advanced finance" does upon one side immense constructive and necessary service, on the other the common sharper finds his chance to create and organize the instruments of exploitation. He said the very rapidity of our commercial development made this pillage possible. Yerkes in Chicago had all the time he wished to finance his trolley system and pocket millions before the masses of people of the city realized what was happening. What large city in the United States has escaped this plundering?

Baldwin said in effect, "Those men are our despoilers. They have corrupted our politics, but we have ignorantly opened to them opportunities altogether too tempting for such human nature as we have yet developed and for such experience as can be used politically. For every form of public-service corporation, we must remove the temptation through organized publicity that must be brought *educationally* home to the people."

He held that this propaganda should be carried on primarily to expose a situation rather than to punish individuals whose wrong-doing has not been criminally defined. These definitions of financial offending he believed too vague to act upon. "All of us together are too ignorant and have been too negligent." The immediate duty is to inform ourselves so that justice against evil-doers may be possible.

I can see him now, the flame kindling in the tender blue of his eyes, as he listened to some savage onslaught on a well-known magnate. I can still hear the subdued intensity of his words as he asked, "Now look here, ——, do you feel sure of what you are saying? Do you feel sure that the dozen best business men that you know would n't, *in that situation*, have taken advantage of the prizes offered? Twenty years ago only individuals here and there had come to think these things wrong. If the people vote a tariff, we don't blame the man who takes advantage of it. If everybody is taking a rebate in some form, we can't make a criminal out of the man who takes a rebate on his freight. These things must first be publicly recognized and recorded as wrong." The corrupting of legislatures, however, he would not forgive, because it never admitted of moral excuse upon any just grounds.

For this large forbearance toward the person he stoutly argued. He maintained that the first dozen well-informed and honest men of your acquaintance "would disagree widely" upon the very terms in which the financial iniquity must be stated.

That a great part of this financial pioneering had been done as honestly as the general morals of the community demanded, Baldwin maintained. He also believed, and the belief deepened with his experience, that this whole speculative frontier where the great organizations were built up and carried

on, gave terrible odds to the able and unscrupulous man. It gave him such occasion for success as to make the struggle of decent competitors all the harder.

There is a saying that the hardest thing in the world is to get an honest partner for a swindle. But if the swindle succeeds widely and imposingly, it puts a dangerous strain upon men of best intention who are in the same competitive field.

Before he left the West, and while considering a promotion which offered him the independent management of a road, he received a letter which gave openly and in detail some of the sharp practices prevalent in the railroad world. It was not from an outside critic. It reported directly and explicitly the experience of a highly successful railroad manager. With enough of these practices Baldwin had already struggled to give him some insight into their significance.

In later letters he tells frankly how he had met these temptations. It is not, however, until his last year on the Southern Railroad that the "big strategy of finance" became in any real way a moral question to him. As railroad manager it had not touched him. In New York City the whole dark maze of it opened to him. As president of a railroad running to and from this central market, every important step brought him nearer the great game. He must have credit and large capital. He must have fran-

chises and other privileges. The legislature at Albany, and Tammany in the city, were there to bargain for every claim which his new plans involved.

The imposing scheme which should give the city proper terminals and tunnels for its traffic instantly engaged him. To secure and to finance even his own part of this vast plan drew him familiarly among the masters of finance. He had both to act and to observe. Within a year he became director or trustee in several leading corporations. At the time of his death he was trustee or official in thirty-seven corporations, some of them the largest of their kind in the East.[1] These responsibilities were thrust upon him right and left as his ability was recognized. He learned a little too late in some instances the perils of being used for such good name as one may possess. But all this was his schooling. He had no better chance to watch "the game" from within than a host of others. But he watched it with some advantages. He was still young. His grip was as firm as ever upon certain principles of

[1] Side by side with these business duties we find him doing ready service in many other fields.

He was active in the work of the City Club, a trustee of the Hackley School, and of Smith College from which Mrs. Baldwin graduated. He was in the Civic Federation and the New York Charity Organization Society; a trustee of the University Settlement and on both the local and national child labor committees. He was a member of the Tenement-House Committee, director of the Armstrong Association, and active in the Citizens' Union as well as for Civil Service Reform.

conduct. He had so tested his loyalty to these principles that he was confident in maintaining them.

That the thing he looked upon more and more shocked him is true. But it is true with the proviso already made: His moral revolt was not against the whole market process. It was not indiscriminately against "Wall Street" or the Stock Exchange. He believed these agencies indispensable for such work as industry and commerce have now to perform. His revolt was rather that, as the game was played, the "bad man" was given too many chances. It was upon the whole a game to which the people gave a practical consent. It was a game in which the swindler and the "part-swindler" had far too much tether. It was a game in which too many and too powerful men could enrich themselves, not by producing values but by spiriting values away from other people. It was a game in which too many players could load themselves with booty at other people's expense.

This made Baldwin's final problem in financial ethics. He knew that a man could make money in ways that did not impoverish others. He knew, and others knew, that he had made a railroad succeed and prosper on that principle. He held that one could run a mine or a factory so that owners and consumers would both get a profit out of it. It was one of his axioms that "all business should be done so that the advantage is distributed. Business success should

mean much more than the enrichment of an individual. It should mean that the community is enriched."

All of which raises a question no less formidable than this: If the unscrupulous can now gain wealth which they in no sense produce, but merely cozen from the people, how shall the thieving be stopped? Through what agency shall society free itself from commercial parasites or compel them to work *for* the community and not against it?

Beyond the forced publicity for all public-service corporations, beyond his plea for honest capitalization and open, uniform accounting, he had other hopes. He spoke of them with less confidence than he did of publicity, but among the "solutions" these hopes came to have real value in his mind. They may be more clearly seen if we consider a little further his riper experience in the West, together with his mental attitude toward the winners in the game.

XXIX

WHO IS TO BLAME?

It was a part of Baldwin's early education to look at short range, and with every chance to know the facts, at one of these mordant railroad contests in the Northwest. It involved vast mining interests contingent on railroad control. It was one among hundreds, but this one burned itself into his actual experience. He saw, to the sorriest detail, how legislatures and even courts were managed. He listened to the excuses made for this wrong-doing, — that "it was the fault of the people and their blackmailing representatives." He knew that these excuses had the support of hard and unpleasant facts, but he knew they were excuses and not explanations. That the people in all this turgid business of political and judicial self-corruption had sinned much and often, Baldwin knew. But he fixed upon the people neither the first nor the gravest fault. Behind all these popular frailties were the little groups of men fighting for monopoly privilege in some form. In the tug and strain for these exclusive powers men came easily to justify all aid and protection to their cause. If a pliant governor, senator, or judge were among the necessities, he was selected like any other

instrument. That is the nature of an unregulated competitive game for great stakes. So long as all of us permit a few of us to play that kind of a game, men of great daring and power will flock to it because its prizes in monopoly privilege are so dazzling. So long as all of us allow it, none of us is free from assenting guilt.

Yet Baldwin was not hoodwinked by the current, shabby excuse that the origin and continuance of political briberies is because powerful corporate bodies are made the victims of the blackmailer. This, too, is not infrequently true, and many honorable men in large organizations have been "held up" by legislative and other threats.

Yet these practices did not originate with the people at large. Their beginnings were further back among those who come seeking rich economic favors. A body organized to secure a priceless franchise is *after* something. It is impatient of delays, and beset by fears of possible or actual rivals. Wherever the acquisition of franchise, water-power, mines, or public domains has had, as in the United States, slight and imperfect regulation, this hunt for monopoly favors becomes a kind of conspiracy. It develops the craft and cunning of an intrigue. Tortuous and secret devices prove the best of strategy. No lawyer gets heavier fees than those who, in such cases, are the masters of legal circumvention. "How can we do this thing and keep free from the net of the law? "

Competitive exigencies like these are the most fertile source of our political undoing. This may be said without concentrating the exclusive blame upon corporation leaders. It was Baldwin's claim that they seized occasions which an unawakened public offered. These leaders were quicker and more daring than others to appropriate economic opportunity. They did overbearingly, and with more masterly hand, what the majority of business men were eagerly striving for.

If the ugly discriminations known as "railway rebates" were customary, as was for a long time true, these bolder spirits secured them on a scale that doubled their incomes.

They had one further subtle advantage. The great business was so organized that those in control could shift and dodge all definite responsibility for wrong. This fixing of responsibility upon the person comes slowly, and solely through elaborate regulation in the public interest. Alone among the great nations, and to our awful cost, we have resisted this subjection of the public corporation to the general good. Doggedly we have stood out against this regulation until the evils became desperate.

My excuse for this more general statement is that in no other way can I tell, either fairly or truthfully, what Baldwin's attitude was toward these questions. His sense of justice and fair-dealing was deeply stirred over this issue of responsibility and

admitted wrongs. "Who is ultimately to blame? Who is more to blame than others? Is there a *class* at whose doors the heavier faults can be laid?" These were questions which he asked with increasing insistence.

Against specific capitalistic and financial abuses his protest was extreme in its indignation, but he never could admit that the business managers as a class should alone be held guilty. He had something of tenderness toward certain rich men who have not avoided public scathing. He felt that they had done, after all, only what too many of their critics would do if they had possessed the wit and the opportunity. Nor did he in this mean to extenuate the wrongdoing. It was rather in the hope of getting nearer to the sources of our trouble. He saw that to the end of time we could so overweight the individual with material possession as to beget mere social disease. He saw that until great changes were made, no real check could be put upon this grotesque concentration of wealth; a concentration unwholesome for the owner and for his family; unwholesome for the community, because every democratic ideal, to which we are committed, is confused by these excesses.

That we have this disorder was, in his view, partly the fault of the public. It has permitted the riot of competition out of which the unwieldy inequalities have sprung. It has squandered franchise grants,

priceless beyond computing. It has parted with monopoly privileges that would have made kingdoms rich. It has allowed men to represent it who have done the dirty work for the holders of unfair privilege.

Yes, the public has freely played the part. Not altogether, but in large measure, it has ignorantly sinned. To this extent, says Baldwin, is it to be excused. Only in recent days has the average voter in the least realized how many of his representatives were selected, not by him, but by organized business interests; selected not for their loyalty to the public, but for fealty to private commercial schemes.

The damaging extent of this political misrepresentation is now rousing the people as from deep sleep. Baldwin saw in this awaking the moral opportunity of our time.

The certain evidence that the people are learning, appears as conspicuously in the industrial field as in the political. Within ten years it has been settled that our remaining forests, mines, oil and water powers, shall have public guardianship. That our most important corporations shall have organized supervision, that they are not otherwise to be trusted in private hands, is so commonly conceded that the only remaining issue is the *extent* and *nature* of the social control.

But can industrial powers whose hand lies so heavily upon the government be brought under con-

trol? Have they not grown into a mastery greater than government itself?

Baldwin replied that, even if this were true, we have explicitly accepted "regulation in the public interest" as the only practicable device. In Congress and in every state we are for many years to fight it out along lines of regulation.

A man of no mean authority, who had lost some faith in regulation, asked him if all that had been done in Congress and in states in the last ten years gave much promise of effective control over railroads and the most powerful corporations. Baldwin's answer to this skepticism was that the fight had only begun; that the public, for the first time, was so roused that it could now make the new opinion a secure basis of legislative action and moral influence.

He said further that it was a renascence from which "the men at the top" could not escape. They, too, could be made to feel the uplift. Even if, with little change of heart, they could be forced into a wise long-range selfishness, so that their triumphs depend on genuine development of industry rather than on mere speculative winnings, one great gain would be secured.

But Baldwin looked for more than this. He believed that the very grandees of finance might be made to realize that the time is at hand when their own interests and their own honor will be better served by taking the people openly and fearlessly

into their confidence. They have everything to gain, he said, and nothing worth keeping, to lose by playing the game with the people and not *against* them.

This rather daring hope was deepened in him by a personal ordeal to which one more reference must be made.

XXX

A SUGGESTED REMEDY

As the chairman and most aggressive worker on the Committee of Fifteen, he had to arouse the antagonism of an all-powerful Tammany. What would this mean to a railroad president who must have the practical good will of the political administrators in New York City? What would the management of the Pennsylvania system itself feel about his leadership in a campaign, the success of which brought possible disgrace to Tammany? He told a few friends at the time that he knew well what the step meant. His resignation to Mr. Cassatt should be ready on a moment's notice. It was later written and sent in. To the honor of the president it was not accepted. But from this hour, the question of continuing in business or of leaving it in order that his full time might go to public service, was never absent from his mind.

It is the hardest, as it is the most delicate, task of the writer, to pass judgment on this experience in Baldwin's life. The perplexity is that one is too uncertain of the facts. From boyhood, his passion was for service to mankind. If he had been free and able to do it, there was probably never a year in which

he would not have rejoiced to drop money-making altogether for more direct civic usefulness. There never was a time when he was not looking forward to the day when this could be done. Men like President Eliot, upon whose counsel he set the very highest value, could not quite convince him that he ought to remain at his business post. A New York editor, for whom he had both affection and admiration, told him there were plenty of outsiders, plenty of professional reformers. "You," he said, "can help us far more from the inside, — stick to your railroad." It is, nevertheless, the opinion of those who best knew his inner life in these last years, that, though he was in no sense materially rich, he was approaching a final decision to drop all business. If this is true, would he have left it simply because he wished to work undisturbed and unfettered for the causes he had at heart?

On the other hand, was he moved also by a moral revolt against that portion of the financial game which his New York experience had for the first time opened to him as out of some dark pit? He was pressed to become a director of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, and accepted the position. He accepted it at a time when he could have had no suspicion of what later came to light. Some shadow of suspicion may have reached him before his final illness, but it was all too vague for decision on his part. He was the last of men to act without clear

proofs, and to obtain such proofs no time was given him.

He had, moreover, what he believed to be a hopeful theory of the sources of much business and political corruption in the United States. Here and there, one was hearing of it, as if many others were asking the same question. Why should not the small group of most powerful men be got together on this issue? They are easily named. They are the men to whom railroad and bank presidents are like minor clerks. They are the men behind great and decisive policies in banking, railways, and the largest corporations. They are our kings and masters. Cannot they act together against the marauders and those who bring disgrace upon commercialism? If the giants have themselves been guilty of malpractices, cannot they be induced to take a bold and open stand against the more flagrant iniquities? One of them has said, the country is "getting rotten with suspicion." If it is true, it must have a cause. Without cause, suspicion does not become the habit of a nation. This special giant was also trying to say that our decay by suspicion was owing to the poor muck-raker. It does this reporter of evil far too great honor. Before the French Revolution broke out, Mallet du Pan found "great and wise men" saying that "the pamphlet-writers were the real cause of the revolutionary mischief." This is the same sheer somnambulism that to-day attributes the general suspicion against much

of our financiering and corporate management to agitators and muck-rakers. Financial and political treacheries have *made* the muck-raker. It is these treacheries that have set millions of citizens to reading "McClure's," "Everybody's," "The American Magazine," "Collier's," and the like.

Baldwin believed that the more privileged financial powers must take a good share of the blame for their own ill-repute. He believed it precisely as he believed that general railroad financiering had encouraged abuses which richly deserved the criticism they got. He maintained that the few overlords of transportation could take the sting out of this hostility, if they would act together openly and frankly before the people. "Let them," he said, "agree among themselves to do this thing. Let them unite in their guarantee to the people that their own part in political briberies shall stop." The people, said Baldwin, will then stand by them. Let the Titans unite to stop every knavery of secret, unfair financiering and go to the people with an undisguised and honest policy. This was his remedy for the embarrassing animosity and suspicion against our railroads.

His hope was the same for the greater issues of "high finance" that occupy the giants: the vast manipulations that are behind the railroads and behind the syndicates. Here is the real source of business mastery in the United States. Let this small

inner circle that one can number by a single figure like 7, or 8, or 9, agree to play straight with the public. That the public should first *see* these facts, and secondly be taught to act upon them with such legislative sanity as not to block railroad growth, was the problem as he saw it. His assertion that the private dividends should not be first, but strictly subordinated to the common welfare, is an unflinching ethical proposal. There is no better definition of social morality than conscious submission of our action to the good of the community. To make the common weal the controlling test of corporate action would moralize business as it would moralize politics. It would revolutionize our wealth-making more profoundly than most socialist schemes now in vogue. This principle of using corporate power first for public ends, was not with Baldwin a mood of phrase-making. It had to him a clear-cut meaning on which he was willing to act.

In his earlier business years, he did not see this. He was instantly fascinated by the game and the speculative chances which the game afforded. As eagerly as another, he watched for these openings. The tremulous margin between the legitimate and illegitimate uses of "inside information" at first hardly caught his attention. His youth and the practical intensity of his activity in the West accounts for this. His real thinking had not yet come. As he rises, reflection begins. When he becomes

manager of a department, the responsibilities start a new order of questions in his mind. His preparation for these ampler duties was perfect, because from childhood he had a rooted and austere hatred of lying. "There 's nothing worth doing that you have to lie about" was a working motto. The symmetry and strength in his development come from this root of unshamed truth-telling. It is this which holds him and guides him as the hard questions rise in his later career.

He thought the fertile mother of multitudinous lying in the business world had been the supposed necessity of all sorts of secrecy. Competitive rivalries turned this secrecy into a fetish, whose popular service was organized deceit. If the mere fighting element — the get-the-best-of-your-neighbor element in competition — were ever justified, secrecy and deceit were doubtless practical necessities. Both are requisite in warfare. If competition on the other hand requires restraint, if it requires supervision and control, as is at last admitted even by the business man, then much of the secrecy with its whole brood of trickiness is obviously pernicious. From the first, Baldwin shows distaste for concealment and chicane. From the first, he is incredulous about the need of them. As reflection matures, he takes his stand. His domain is that of the public and semi-public corporation, and it is of these he speaks. If these organizations are to do their proper work, if

they are first for public and, after that, for private benefit, then secrecy is mere mischief. It is not only vicious, it is stupid. If the railroad exists primarily to serve the general needs of the community, secrecy alone would defeat its purpose. Only as the community has full and ample knowledge, can it lift a finger in its own defense. Its legislation will go amiss. It cannot even give intelligent utterance to its complaints. If it is ignorant of costs, of capitalization, of expenses, how can the public judge of proper rates of fares?

This was Baldwin's position. No fact should be hidden; the cost of the road, every feature in its capitalization, its incurred expense, its relation to labor, should be so simply and so clearly stated that the man on the street can understand. The main task is now to convince the people that no fact is distorted or concealed from them.

In all this, his fundamental appeal is to the social and ethical sense of the community. A doubting friend made this protest: —

"Your demand for publicity is all right, but those kings of yours can't do what you ask, because they are too suspicious of each other. They will pull together where they are compelled, or when it is for their pecuniary interest, but not a step further. They are too afraid of each other to form any such public-spirited compact."

Baldwin was unconvinced. He named the men

whose financial weight he thought was irresistible. "They would themselves," he said, "be the gainers. They should create and announce a code of business morals. They should set some sort of standard as to what political influences are legitimate and what not; what is fair and what unfair in capitalization; what is permissible and what not in the uses of 'inside information.'" He went even further than this. He believed these men might be brought to see that the whole conception of business ability should be enlarged so as to take account of popular unrest and criticism. They should call that man "ablest" who feels and recognizes the rights of the public and honestly sympathizes with them.

What Baldwin is asking and asking all the time, is that the whole *human* problem shall be taken into the business problem. Most of the strong men have finally got it into their heads that their workers must be treated like human beings. Foremen and managers are more and more selected with this in mind. The next step is to choose ability which appreciates and understands the critical and suspicious condition to which the public has at last been brought.

Was Baldwin right in believing that "the little group of the great ones" could thus become a happy family? Can they thus unite to frown down evildoing in politics and finance? Can they shape a better code and lift the standards of commercial honor?

The writer has no skill to answer. Baldwin held it among his faiths in human nature and in the power of public opinion in this country. If there was too ready an optimism in this remedy of converting the Titans, it was a remedy which he himself applied to every business and human condition. In his own experience the remedy worked. Again and again the standards of most doubtful persons respond to his. Working with him, calloused men assume a virtue if they have it not. They are on their good behavior. If evil schemes are in the air, they are silent about them, or broach them with extenuation and apology.

Baldwin had found, in his twenty years, no job so hard that it could not be done with moral self-respect. He believed that those stronger than himself, with far greater resources, could unite to set new standards. He believed that in doing this the public confidence could be won in time to save us from graver troubles.

This brings us to such answer as can be given to the question raised earlier in this chapter. Believing as he did, it is not likely that he would have dropped business, merely out of disgust for its methods. With chagrin and some sadness, he looked at the perfidies in the business game. All the sorry snarl and tangle of it gave him moral aversion. But there was not in his body a drop of the coward's blood. Obstacles, whether business or moral, did not frighten

him, — they attracted him as by a challenge. When he wrote to his brother from the West, "I feel as if I could tackle anything," it was not bluster but a bit of honest self-expression. In that same spirit, in or out of business, he would have met his tasks.

XXXI

MORE THAN BUSINESS

THE death of Baldwin gave rise to a discussion which has its place at this point. He had been called by Dr. Felix Adler "the Galahad of the Market-Place," and by Dr. T. R. Slicer "the uncorrupted knight."

With no cynical intent, the question was put: How in the hardening clash of interests in the big business can one make such headway with no faltering or lowering of colors?

One of the answers is worth giving. "Baldwin," it was said, "had so many sources of strength. He was not sustained by one ideal, but by several equally dear to him. He was not merely trying to keep honest in business. He was never for a day without other ideals which buttressed and sustained his business standard. He holds this one erect because as citizen, friend or neighbor he had the added spur which these other consecrations give him. His eagerness to help his family and retain their affection; his tender intensity of solicitude in the uprearing of the son and daughter left to him; his instant loyalty to any cause of good citizenship; his alliance with a whole series of 'causes' outside his business

proper, — libraries for workingmen, societies to prevent cruelty to child and animal, — these from the very outset were part and parcel of that self-giving which fortified him in the stress of business life."

On the very threshold of duties in Omaha, even upon the train which took him into the West, he is dreaming of other things besides his own advancement. He will not first make a lot of money and then hunt up worthy philanthropies on which to spend it, — a folly as fatal as that of working one's self into permanent nervous incapacity and then going abroad to have a good time. He will begin earning money and take up some useful service at the same time.

His justice and humanity are steadily practiced along the entire way. While he is forming business habits, he is quite as industriously strengthening those aptitudes which preserve the distinctively human touch in him. It is these human inclinations which shield him from the mere lust of getting rich. He saw one of the tragic predicaments of extreme individual wealth; namely, that no one seemed wise enough to spend it wholesomely and with permanent satisfaction. He observed this and he also heard it straight from those who had found it out. He was told, as in a confessional, "The more you try it and watch results, the more impossible it seems to bestow large sums with satisfying confidence."

One of our very rich men in the Middle West,

who tried for years to secure Baldwin's services, had himself plunged into a huge beneficence only to find disappointment at the end.

Another pregnant confession was this: "It requires much more wisdom to give away millions than it does to make them." Baldwin thought if this were true that it would be much wiser so to regulate the sources of great acquisition, as to save these embarrassed magnates from so cruel a dilemma. He had moreover his own personal solution. He could give so much of himself as he went along; he could think and work so hard for the human causes, that only modest and manageable wealth should come to him. When this was his, the greater needs should have him altogether.

This is the answer to the question raised in the discussion about the "Galahad of the Market-Place," "the uncorrupted knight." Even in the strain of the market, his moral ideals hold fast because they have other anchorage. There is always something over and above business which has his final and utmost loyalty. Wherever he moves and acts, men give it willing recognition.

It has beautiful significance that after his death the many who loved him, as by one common impulse, strove to carry on his life in the same spirit in which he lived it.

It is as if his death only changed the force of his influence. Hardly had the burial service closed at

Forest Hills before troops of friends were asking, "What can be done, not only to perpetuate his memory but to give permanence to ideals for which he lived?"

This movement appears wherever men had come to know him best. Everywhere there was the same pervasive thought. The ready gifts should take the shape best calculated to carry on the work he loved. Friends do not merely hang his portrait on club walls, as in the Harvard and City Clubs of New York City. They set themselves the hard and serious task of doing still what he strove to do.

The Harvard class of 1885 acted at once. In the College records of this class are the letters which poured in from every part of the country in response to the call. They brought checks, but many of them show for the man a depth of feeling which no money gift can ever express.

When the fund was raised, there was the same feeling about the uses to which it should be put. There was a solicitude as if something very precious were at stake. In the letter sent by the Class Committee to the President and Fellows of the College are the words: —

"The principles of character and duty which it seeks to instill guided him throughout a busy life to splendid services to mankind along the lines of education in the Southern States and helpfulness among the newer and poorer residents of New York City.

It is also to commemorate his distinguished services as a practical economist. As a far-sighted railroad man he did more than any other one man to solve the rapid-transit problem in New York."

"As a practical economist," — this is the service chosen. This was more nearly his college dream than any other. "I want," he said, "to work in some of these social and economic questions."

The fund went fittingly to the Department of Economics, not to further general and technical instruction but to publish and spread those special investigations which might throw light on those economic problems which underlie our civic and political life.

The first subject chosen was, "Franchise Grants to Gas and Electric Light Companies"; another, "The Relation of the Municipality to the Transportation Service," students being urged to select their own town or neighborhood for investigation. The distinct aim of the fund is thus to train young men in civic insight and capacity.

Another memorial was the beautiful window in opalescent glass placed in the chapel of the George Junior Republic by his close college friend, Thomas Mott Osborne. It is the symbol of righteousness in the armored figure of St. George, the sword of justice in his hand, his foot upon the dragon.

Moved by the same spirit the National Municipal League raised its own fund. Sufficient money was

secured to insure an annual prize of one hundred dollars, known as the William H. Baldwin Prize, for essays on Municipal Government. This, with freer hand, was opened to competition for enlightening themes to stimulate interest in what has proved to be our most humiliating political experience, — the lack of honest and efficient conduct of city administration.

With still more diligence and painstaking was carried out the raising of the greater fund by business and social friends in New York City. One hundred and fifty thousand dollars was the answer to this call.

President Roosevelt headed the appeal. In the list that follows are the names, with many others, of ex-President Cleveland, President Eliot, Charles Francis Adams, Bishop Potter, Dr. Felix Adler, and Jacob H. Schiff.

In bestowing this benefaction upon Tuskegee Institute there was unanimity in the feeling that no disposition of it would be nearer to Baldwin's heart. When at a Commemoration dinner among Tuskegee students the *menu* card bore the inscription,

To our Best Friend,

that friend was Baldwin, and the phrase was not an empty one.

XXXII

LITTLE THINGS BY THE WAY

His life is strangely rich in instances of self-forgetting surrender to personal troubles which he sees about him. From the window of an elevated train he sees upon the street the white face of a child that has in it some appeal of suffering which he cannot resist. He abruptly leaves his train, to find that it is a case ready for the hospital. He is not satisfied until the child is safely lodged there with proper care.

Dr. Washington relates the following incident to show that Baldwin's interest was not less keen for the whites in the South than for the blacks.

"I remember one occasion in particular when he was able to help one of these families of unfortunate whites in a way that gave him as much happiness as anything I know. He made the acquaintance, while he was visiting in the South, of a white family which consisted of two old women and a child. They were, as he discovered, very poor. The cabin in which they lived was old, ill-conditioned and uncomfortable. They had almost no furniture in their little home and were almost without food. He found occasion to visit them in their cabin. He went in and sat down for a talk with them in the same easy and unconven-

tional way that he would have talked with some of his acquaintances in their beautiful homes in New York City. During the conversation he managed to find out some of the things they needed most. Then, without saying a word to them in regard to his intention, he sent them the next day a wagon-load of groceries and provisions — enough to last them for several months. Among a certain class of people in the South the custom — so common on the frontier in the early days — which permitted women to smoke, still lingers. Mr. Baldwin knew this, and, in the course of his conversation, he had learned the brand of tobacco these women were in the habit of using. When he ordered the groceries for them he took particular pains to see that a sufficient supply of this brand of tobacco was sent with the other goods. The amazement of the family, when the wagon with its load of good things drove up to the cabin door, was complete. Neither of the women had had any inkling that such a surprise was in store for them. Nor did they have the least notion to whom they were indebted for its providential arrival."

In 1898, when the Government was rushing soldiers to be cared for at Montauk Point, the eastern terminus of Mr. Baldwin's road, the administrative tasks put him probably to the severest strain of his life. The troops were to be sent from Havana by water. What followed should be given in his own words. They are in a letter to the late Henry D.

Lloyd, in answer to outrageous misrepresentations made against his management by a United States Senator, and by one of the New York papers.

"I heard nothing further from the Government until I received a message to the effect that there were two thousand horses and two thousand men *en route* from Tampa. We were dumbfounded. No preparations had been made, and I saw at once (as I expressed it to the Government and to many others), that a terrible tragedy was in sight. I staid day and night at Montauk for two weeks. I gave my whole strength and thought to helping the Government officials in laying out their work, and they have stated many times that without my own work they would have been two weeks further behind. . . .

"For the last two weeks I have given my personal attention, day and night, to the sick men who have been returning on furlough, and who have arrived at Long Island City in very bad condition."

He took the presidency of the Red Cross Society at its local branch, raising an extra fund for the better care of the sick soldiers. Mrs. Willard, in charge of the Red Cross, wrote in the autumn a letter in warmest praise of his administrative work, while another observer sent to the New York "Sun" a tribute which shows the magnitude of his task and the mastery displayed in meeting it.

"Sir: Watching every phase of our brief Spanish war with the zest of a participant in another struggle

which shook the earth, the energy of one civilian official has excited my admiration. This is President Baldwin of the Long Island Railroad Company.

"Given but six days' notice of the Government's selection of Montauk for a great camp, just where the least facilities were installed for handling large traffic, in the midst of the enormous summer business which employs the full equipment of the road, Mr. Baldwin met the situation much as Sheridan faced Cedar Creek. No pride of position held this young magnate to his comfortable offices. Like a born leader (and I think he must be such), ordering forward men and material, he sped to the scene of difficulty, and there, his cool, masterful presence dominating and inspiring every work, miles of trackage were laid, sheds and freight houses constructed, and all the machinery of a great supply station appeared with incredible swiftness. Locomotives were hired from other roads, cars gathered from everywhere, his mind upon every need, governing and controlling, organizing and commanding the vast details for the successful transportation of troops and stores, so that no blame could justly fall upon the management for any neglect whereby a soldier might be put to needless suffering.

"I know of no official who has more conscientiously performed his duty, or more ably confronted a great responsibility, than Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr."

Not even in the turmoil of these duties does he forget the individual, personal touch. He sees a sick boy from Ohio. Something in the case so moves him that he cannot leave it alone. I find six letters to this soldier, or about him, with the following telegram to the boy's friends in Ohio: —

September 10, 1898.

I wrote you Thursday. Have telephone message from the hospital this morning that he is doing well and hope to be able to move him to my house next week. I will see that he goes home in a Pullman car, but not until he is thoroughly well to stand the journey. There will be no expense.

W. H. Baldwin, Jr.

Months later, two encouraging and affectionate letters to the boy show that he is not forgotten.

At another time it is a woman prisoner in Auburn, New York, shut up on a life sentence. A chance bit of evidence reaches him that injustice has been done her. He sends for details which prove convincing. He does not sigh over it or waste emotion. He works at it until results are reached, and Mr. Roosevelt, then governor, wires him: —

My dear Baldwin, —

I am delighted that in one case at least the pardoning seems to be going right.

Mr. Mead, the prison warden, wrote about this: "It may be of some interest to you for me to say

that the prisoner when notified of her pardon was completely overcome with joy and broke into tears. She fell to her knees, offered a prayer of gratitude to Heaven, embraced me in appreciation of my kindness toward her, and continually requested me to write you at once and express her sincere gratitude to you and tell you that her one aim in life will be to so conduct herself that you may never have cause to regret your efforts in her behalf."

The warden adds his opinion that justice as well as charity has been served by this act.

Again, he noticed in the morning paper that a young woman, after an operation in a hospital, had been arrested for a small theft of money. He sent a trusted man to the court before which she was to appear. It was shown that she came from Canada and that her illness had left her penniless and in distress. In this extremity, she yielded, taking a small sum from the pocket-book of a fellow working-girl. The case was dismissed, and Baldwin, though he never saw her, had her placed in a private family. She proved to be "an excellent operator" and secured work.

Another illustration, the details of which cannot here be given, brought from Mr. Roosevelt, then in Washington as Vice-President, the following letter:

I have your letter of the 8th, inclosing copy of letter from ——. My task would be simple if I

always encountered men as conscientious as you have always shown yourself to be in everything where I have had any dealing with you, public or private.

I am not at all sure that virtue invariably brings a reward on this earth; but I do know that if our big financial men, bankers, railroad presidents and the like, dealt with public officials as you dealt with me while I was Governor, Populism and its kindred complaints would be reduced to infinitesimal proportions.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Among letters of this sort are two written to Mrs. Baldwin, one immediately after the event, and the other after Mr. Baldwin's death. On a European trip he had noticed on board ship — I think in the second class — a distressed woman with a sick child. He found that she was not only alone but had a poor and inconvenient stateroom. His own spacious apartment became at once uncomfortable to him, and was turned over during the remaining days to mother and child.

From the child's ardor to help his family to the Christmas greeting to his railway employees just before his death in 1905, it is in these little things by the way that one best sees the tenderer and the nobler side of Baldwin's life.

XXXIII

WITNESSES

It would require another volume to give in full the homage which this life brought forth. One by one the witnesses seem to be saying, that what Baldwin hoped for, that he had achieved. He set before himself an ideal of citizenship. The results are recorded in these tributes. Not one of them is marred by the sense of forced submission to ritual proprieties. They have the spontaneity which the loyalties of love and utter respect alone inspire. It is as if each were seeking, not to eulogize, but to interpret. Here was a life that could be called, without fear of cant, "consecrated." Above any material thing it had aimed at values which are rightly called moral and spiritual. They are the values which have to do with human happiness and well-being. Never once do we see him lose faith in these as the real and permanent excellences. Never once do we see him falter in his purpose to make these prevail among men.

The tributes merely give us the varying temperamental appreciations of a life thus dedicated. The fragments here offered have one rare quality. Though spoken or written, they are accurately what friends

and acquaintances said of him to each other in private. At one of the three public meetings in New York where he was honored, very glowing words were spoken. But to me the most eloquent of all did not come from the platform. Standing by the door was one who said, as he left the building, "Well, they told no lies about him. They were only saying to the audience what every one who knew him well was saying in private. His life made it easy to eulogize him. As his acquaintances meet on the street or in the office that is what they say about him."

These selected tributes are from cool and sometimes distant observers. They are from business associates, or from such as worked with him in various measures of reform. One instance is given out of a nearer, lifelong affection. Dr. Samuel A. Eliot wrote of him: —

"What sensitiveness to beauty played about his strength! He sunned his soul in music. He could always sing well, and nothing gave him greater pleasure. He never had time for much instruction in music, but he could manage to play somehow on almost any musical instrument. If he had not been a railroad president I think he would have liked to have been a church organist. He loved nature and enjoyed the perplexities and trials of a farmer's life. He could talk about soils and crops with the same buoyant enthusiasm as about subways or the great composers. He loved the bright laughter of little

children, the flying cloud-shadows on his lawn, and the rush of the surf up the beach."

The first proofs of the young man's powers were best known by his chief, the President of the Union Pacific, who told the lad plainly and rather coldly that he would be given simply an opportunity. If not literally at the bottom, it was but modest office-work. "Here 's your chance," it was said to him, "make what you can of it." This is the tone of Charles Francis Adams's first letters. Later communications are marked by the highest sense of Baldwin's worth, but a single sentence will suffice. After recording Baldwin's death as "a national loss," Mr. Adams says, "Of all the men I knew in the full vigor of usefulness, I could not name one more useful or needed."

That President Eliot's affectionate confidence was justified is seen in the following words. There is no line that is not based on the closest understanding of what the younger man had performed and, better still, of all that he had spiritually become.

"He was a college man who by force of industry, fidelity, good judgment, and courage succeeded rapidly and conspicuously in business, and yet was well known to maintain the highest standards of fairness, humanity, and good will in business. He was a man of large income, engaged in large affairs, and trusted to make great plans and great expenditures for other people, who nevertheless lived himself

a simple family life, content with plain living and wholesome pleasures, and the natural domestic joys and hopes. He was a hard-working man, who found time to render large public service to education and good government. So he was a high example for young Americans, and particularly for young Harvard men. His disinterestedness and his devotion to duty and to doing good were plainly visible though never displayed. The loss of this noble influence in American life is a heavy public misfortune."

One of the higher officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad wrote words of deep and sincere feeling after Baldwin's death. But the following was addressed to a railway attorney as he would have said it to him at his club. It is a dispassionate judgment upon closely observed and tested qualities.

"At my first meeting with him I was impressed by the utter negation of self in all the enterprises with which he was connected. He really belonged not to this age but to the Roundheads of Cromwell's time. Personal ambitions and personal advantages were with him entirely secondary to the accomplishment of beneficial results, and those results were such as few men strive to accomplish."

It was to a private friend that President Dabney of the University of Cincinnati wrote the line, "the manliest and sweetest spirit I ever knew." From the President of Washington and Lee University in Virginia came the estimate that "this country has

produced no man who measured more fully up to the highest ideals of citizenship."

Booker T. Washington for weeks could hardly trust himself to speak of the death of his steadfast helper. In Boston he avoids meeting Mr. Baldwin's father, whom he knew so well. "I have not yet become brave enough," he says, "because I knew we should inevitably talk about his son."

Dr. Adler wrote, "His nature bloomed like a fragrant flower on the very nettle of modern commercialism.

"He was a wonderful friend, he had the wizard touch; he could unseal the fount of love in men long past middle age, who had supposed that the springs in them of new affectional relations had long since run dry. He was endowed with an eternal cheerfulness. His apprehension of the best values of life was neither slow nor second-hand, neither a matter of mere hearsay nor the weak echo of his own earlier idealisms, but the immediate and complete surrender of his nature to every shape and mode of excellence. He made one feel in his presence that the fine things of life were near at hand and easy, and the vulgar things difficult and remote.

"Taking him all in all, he may be called a modern knight of the Holy Grail, seeking it not in the seclusion of the cloister or in any segregation from the world, but rather in the very din and dust of the market-place."

President Roosevelt counted him among his most valued advisers. Scattered through his papers are many letters and telegrams asking him to the White House or to Oyster Bay. In everything which concerned the South and all the insidious embarrassments of the negro problem, the President turned to no one with more confidence than to Mr. Baldwin.

But this high homage comes not alone from great and conspicuous names. With the same honest fervor it comes from the common soldier personally followed and cared for at Montauk Point during the Cuban War. It appears in the resolutions among the colored servants at clubs in which Baldwin had membership, as well as in obscure Southern schools of which most of us never heard. A common laborer, during the last illness, gave up a holiday to bring medicine which he believed would cure the sufferer.

Of the many tributes in the press, scarcely a sample can be given. Easily preëminent among them is one from that merriest philosopher among our journals, "Life": —

"The late William H. Baldwin, Jr., had the greatest talent for being good of any man of like ability and success that we Americans have seen much of these many years. He was not only good, but affirmatively, helpfully, illustriously good, and yet no one seemed to lay it up against him. And he was good under difficulties, for he was an exceedingly able and successful man of business, who missed the dis-

cipline of failure, succeeding from the first in what he undertook, progressing with extreme rapidity from one important position of trust and responsibility to a better one, and becoming president of the Long Island Railroad at the age of thirty-three. We do not know where to look for a recent career or character that quite matches Mr. Baldwin's. The most unworldly of worldly-wise men, the most unselfish of efficient men, he seemed to consider that the most valuable thing in life was the opportunity to serve mankind. He is dead at forty-one, a lamentable loss to the country. But what a happy life! To call it successful is almost a disparagement. It is a credit to our country and our generation that such a man as Baldwin could have won and held the place he did, and could have been so universally honored and beloved."

At Washington and Lee University, I sat beside him while he addressed the entire body of students. I heard the question asked, why a man who spoke so quietly and simply, without a pretence of oratory, should so move the listeners. The answer was in effect this: "They like the man who is doing great things in business. A railroad president can dispense with oratory. They feel the weight of the man of action." There is some truth in the explanation, but it is by no means all. He had his own original note of persuasive eloquence, which, if not oratory, was every whit as good. He could at once fix and hold an

eager, docile attention, and that is the very end of public speech. But this, too, fails to answer the question that was put: why this quietness and simplicity of his should meet with such response from the college youth.

I note the incident here, not to answer the questioner, but, before closing this memoir, to make a needed confession. The recorded praise of Mr. Baldwin has an expression so extraordinary in emphasis and feeling as to require for all those who were strangers to him more concrete achievement, more visible result in doing things, than these pages reveal. That prominent representatives of his college class of 1885 should speak of him in print as "the foremost Harvard man of his generation" would find quite inadequate justification in any record of measurable deeds with which one can connect his name. In his two-score years these deeds were many. They were bravely and richly wrought. But it still remains that many others wrought as well with far less meed of praise. No satisfying answer can be made to those who never touched his hand; never looked into the serene candor of his eyes, or felt the unabating glow of the spirit that was his. Only haltingly and with much imperfection can the chronicler communicate to others this radiant possession which we name personality. It was like an unforced flame that burned in him and through him as naturally as the lamp sheds light. Those were few who did not yield to its

charm. It was this which led, in the last weeks, a casual business acquaintance to go day after day to get from some attendant news of his condition. It was this which made strong men, unused to tears, shed them when, on January 3, 1905, the end was known. It was this which impelled a successful professional man, from whom one would not have looked for such an utterance, to say, "He drew all hearts to him, — he enriched our lives; and in his last elevation he lifts us with him."

XXXIV

THE IDEALIST

I AM aware that some incidents in Baldwin's career and some citations from his letters may excite skeptical comment from those who did not know him. The shrewd, hard-headed man of business has his opinion about "ideals" and about "idealists." They may be "well enough in their way," but is it not plain gammon to talk about ideals in the implacable strife of modern business? Ideals are for the clergy, the Sunday-school teacher, and brisk ladies bent upon reforms. They doubtless have their place in a book or a poem, anywhere you like, except where men are earning bread and making money. The hard rigors of competitive trade have made this chilling atmosphere for idealists. If they will vapor about ideals, it should be on the platform, in a newspaper, or after a good dinner, where no harm will be done.

I have heard a strong man, who felt himself quite free from illusions, say that he always noticed in his club that, after the second drink, men began to talk about ideals in politics and business. It was this gentleman's way of saying that men with clear heads and sound sense do not waste profitable time on unrealities.

Baldwin did not vapor about ideals or force them upon unwilling ears. There never was in him a taint of the "holier-than-thou" attitude, yet he was an idealist in its strict and proper sense — a mind moved by ideas. What haunts him and even drives him is a moral imagery of something better. The propelling idea in his case is moral because it consciously includes the good of other people. If the mental picture is that of his railroad, he conceives of it in relation to public welfare. The railroad must be more and more efficient in a service that includes everybody. He does not think of it merely as a machine out of which a few private pockets are to be filled. Its one justification is that it helps toward a development in which all men share.

He idealizes the function of the railroad in that he insists upon an ever higher use of transportation in the general interest. I heard a railroad president once describe the famous head of another road in these terms: "He has no policy or idea except to manipulate the values, so that he can gut the property and then get rid of it. He has as little thought of *producing* anything or helping the public as a common sharper in a gambling game. Whether he leaves the road better or worse, does not enter his head so long as he can coin money out of it." By this illustration we may gauge Baldwin.

At the lowest range of business is the despoiler, the man willing to wreck and to destroy if he may

thereby carry away booty. Not much above him is the whole army of the get-rich-quick type. Here is the promoter at his worst — the man scheming to "sell nothing for something to people who want something for nothing"; the man with one question upon his lips, — "How can I get something, without giving anything?" "How can I make people believe they are getting something when they are getting nothing?" In mining, in land schemes, patent medicines, the floating of securities, multitudes among us work like slaves to get other people's money without a thought of rendering service in return. The severest criticism against our competitive system is that it has made this habit of mind so common. Ethical and economic education will have no higher aim than to correct this mental perversity.

Over against this whole get-rich-quick insanity, Baldwin, and the many who are like him, may be called economic idealists. Even in strict business, it is an ideal of no mean order to conceive of one's task as a creator of real values; to think of it as an energy which is adding to the common prosperity. Baldwin held it to be indefensible to "kill off" your competitor. You were a first-rate business man only when your success — even in surpassing the competitor — did not ruin him. The coöperative spirit should develop in business so that the gains are distributed and not "hogged."

"What are we in business for except to knock out

our rivals?" he was asked. "Could the present business system last through a season if men were careful and considerate of their competitors?" Baldwin's answer to this would doubtless be thought quixotic. I do not believe that he reasoned it out further than is suggested by his analogy of the railroads. They were to have authoritative regulation in the public interest, — a regulation so thorough that weaker competitors could not be ruined. Regulation was to mean a fair chance for all, with rewards proportioned to services; but even if "regulation" can accomplish so much, the whole fighting field of ordinary business is still untouched. What Baldwin would have said of this, I do not know, but he gave the best answer a man can ever give for anything. He answered by the habitual practice of his life. It was never for a moment his purpose to make all the money he could possibly acquire. With moral deliberation, he set limits to his own acquisition. He would make money, but he would make it with conditions. He would neither be a parasite nor a gambler. Upon principle, he would grow rich more slowly if there were any question of straight and honorable methods. In a case of proposed railroad extension, he was asked, as an official, to take advantage of plans then secret and buy certain properties. He considered it, but refused. "I could have made a pot of money out of that," he said, "but I should have sold too much of myself."

"What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" are the old words that still had life and meaning and authority for this man in business. The moral discrimination in his decisions gained year by year in strength. I doubt if he would have made that refusal in the first years in the West, because he did not then see what larger experience made clear to him. His conscience and the delicacy of his scruples were more sensitive in his later than in his earlier years. There is more firmness and grip in his business idealism in New York than in Omaha fifteen years before.

It was the power of these ideals which made it easy to submit his resignation as railroad president at the first hint of restricted liberty in public service. It was the same guarded power that made him hard as steel against the political or business blackmailer. He could quit business, he could do less business or do it more slowly, but at all costs, it should be done without shame or dishonor. To this poise and integrity of will and purpose must be added an imaginative hopefulness which left him robust and cheerful before the common annoyances which turn so many of us into petty grumblers.

Looking one day upon the torn condition of New York City, — its tunnelings and its destruction to make way for new building, — Dr. Adler said to him: "What a glorious city it will be to live in when the improvements now in process shall have been accomplished!"

Baldwin answered: "But more glorious to live in the city while these things are not yet accomplished, to be one of the factors in making toward the accomplishment, to be of the very heart and life of the change!"

This is our American idealism at its best. The noisiest and grimiest facts leave him tranquil. He sees through and beyond the present irritation to some large fulfillment which satisfies his faith. His ideals are for no separable portion of his activities. They influence his business as they influence his politics, his public obligations, and his family life.

It is of this moral unity and wholesomeness that President Eliot was thinking when, on January 15, 1905, he wrote to Baldwin's father of the "disastrous loss for family, friends, and nation." The letter reads in part: —

Dear Mr. Baldwin, —

I cannot express my sense of the loss for American life and its ideals which the untimely death of your son Will inflicts on us all. He was as fine a type of integrity, public spirit, and good will as we have ever had, and he had early won conspicuous and influential station where his character told on others, and was likely to tell for more and more. Considered merely from the University's side — its influence, prestige, and honor — his death is a great calamity. He represented business success in an educated man

who cherished the best ideas of justice and humanity in industries and trade, and success pursued and won for objects quite beyond the possession of wealth.

With the deepest sympathy,

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

In Mrs. Baldwin's copy of Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," the following lines had been underscored by his own hand.

> To front a lie in arms and not to yield,
> This shows, methinks, God's plan
> And measure of a stalwart man,
> Limbed like the old heroic breeds,
> Who stands self-poised on manhood's solid earth,
> Not forced to frame excuses for his birth,
> Fed from within with all the strength he needs.

These words were written of Lincoln. Before his assassination, an embittered southern woman was watching him in Ford's Theatre. Years afterwards she wrote her impressions of the man and the face. There were some severities in her judgment, but most distinct and indelible in her memory was the fascination of what she called "a strange tenderness in his eyes." If that "strange tenderness" be added to Lowell's lines, they tell us still more of all that Baldwin was of virile manhood softened by gentleness and human sympathy. When the end had come, a neighbor and dear friend of Baldwin's later years, chose from Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" the following lines, which came nearer than any

others to express with utmost delicacy and truth the aim and spirit of his life.

> — The generous Spirit, who, when brought
> Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
> Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought:
> Whose high endeavors are an inward light
> That makes the path before him always bright: —
> Who, if he rise to station of command,
> Rises by open means; and there will stand
> On honorable terms, or else retire
> And in himself possess his own desire;
> Who comprehends his trust, and to the same
> Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim: —
> Is yet a Soul whose master-bias leans
> To homefelt pleasures and to gentle scenes.

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